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THE
UNITY DEBATE:
THERE THEY GO AGAIN

A Baby Boom Ticket



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'A New Generation'**

**Down Home In
Clinton's Dixie**



The Democratic Ticket:
Presidential Candidate William Clinton
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COVER

A BABY BOOM TICKET



On the eve of accepting the Democratic party nomination for president, Arkansas Gov. William Clinton, 45, named a fellow southerner, 64-year-old Tennessee Senator Albert Gore, as his running mate for this November's election. The youthful ticket signals the emergence of a new generation of political leaders, vowing to change America's political and economic direction. — 24

CANADA/SPECIAL REPORT

'CANADA HAS ANSWERED'

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, in a classic display of eloquence, raised doubts about whether he will accept a new national unity deal from his English-Canadian counterparts. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney cancelled plans to recall Parliament on July 15, allowing time for more negotiations. — 12



THE ARTS

CULTURE IN CRISIS

Buttered by the recession, the GST and declining corporate and government funding, Canada's non-profit arts groups are adopting a variety of strategies to stay afloat. Still, many artists and arts organizations are expressing concern that ingenuity alone may not be enough to preserve Canadian culture. — 46





Danger Signals

Nine provincial premiers and Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark have accomplished a remarkable undertaking in retracing the political map of Canada in a way that holds at least some appeal for Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. The Quebec Liberal leader last week refused to commit himself to attend a full first ministers' meeting, which would be his first since the Meech Lake disaster two years ago. Instead of convening disintegrations, but he clearly found the package too attractive to dismiss out of hand. Instead, he will study the package extensively in telephone conversations with the other premiers before signalling Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on his estimation of the chances of a summit succeeding. That is when the process could become dangerous.

For one thing, most of those outside of political circles—and many inside the process—have great difficulty understanding what kind of unity decentralization will emerge if the so-called deal is implemented. For another, a first ministers' conference could turn into a waste of time if the meetings that based the Meech Lake accord in a list of accusations, outrage and disillusionment. Unless Ottawa and the nine premiers can nail down an agreement with Quebec in informal consultations to the point where a first ministers' meeting would be only a signing formality, Mulroney should refuse to call one.

At the same time, the Commons should resume on July 25, as planned, if the no other route to deliver the new package. Otherwise, and, as the provinces, promote national understanding and awareness of its ramifications. Otherwise, there will almost certainly be a national sense of being led blindly into an unknown future. Canadians must be ready to accept almost any award that will end the constitutional crisis and maintain the country's integrity. But if their political representatives leave no impression that their support is taken for granted, that goodwill could evaporate swiftly—and the consequences would also be felt through decades to come.



Writers Mary-Jane Jones (left), Anthony Wilson-Smith and Nancy Wood, contemporaries.

Ken Whyte

Maclean's

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

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You've driven
yourself hard
all your life.

Now it's time to cruise.



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15 gpi
680

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OPENING NOTES

Tapping a new brew, a Canuck in San Diego and ire in the lobby

REAL MEN OF LETTERS

Your body is gold, your penfert breath
 Your lips, your legs under my pregnant hands
 —Ernie Lipton, "Under," 1956

Such provocative poetry from Irving Lipton has elicited frequent cries of outrage from literary critics. But a review of *Under with Glee*, his latest collection, has led to new confabulations—and odd alliances. In the June 13 Montreal *Gazette*, reviewer Stephen Heathman wrote that Lipton, 80, poses as "Canada's leading lover" and portrays women in little more than "surgical breasts." The poet fired back a letter to the editor asking, "Is what literary Duncanside did The Gande give up the copyright Stephen Heathman?" Then, an unlikely ally came to Lipton's defense: Sharon H. Nelson, founder of the Feminist Caucus of the League of Canadian Poets. In a letter to Heathman that she deposited among Montreal's cultural elite, Nelson called the newspaper "liar" for reading the wrong edition. "So call Irving Lipton a 60-year-old man; does not strike me as an improvement over calling me a new hating, old-fashioned, lesbian witch," Ester Gaudet managing editor Alan Nimh, who wrote to Nelson, describing her criticism of the reviewer because she was not "poetically employed in the field." Heathman, for his part, stands by his comments about Lipton. "I only said it public," he writes. "I dated everybody else who's in print."



Lipton: support from the feminist front

HAVE BABY, WILL TRAVEL

A recent hotel chain in Norway has come up with a good way to acquire business and, perhaps, spark a baby boom in the Scandinavian country. From June to August, guests at any of the hotel chain's eight hotels can enjoy substantial discounts on normal room rates—and unmarried couples can recoup their expenses if they conceive a baby during their visit. To claim the rebate, new parents have to furnish proof that their child was born nine months after their stay, per a take two weeks. As part of hotel's provocative advertising campaign, Norwegian newspapers are running full-page pictures of screaming teens with the caption, "All to 60 per cent off for all participants, 100 per cent for the winners." The payoff for the hotels? "We desperately need more traffic," said marketing director Torleiv Andersen. "This campaign is about new things like videocass, carfax, engaging late—and perhaps making life."

PETRO CAN-AMERICA



Despite efforts by Ottawa and the provinces to curtail cross-border shopping, Canadian consumers in recent months in search of bargains, away from Canadian companies are opening outlets in lower-cost U.S. border communities. One of the latest to do that is Petro-Canada, which opened its first American gas station in Hightstown, N.Y., 80 km south of Montreal, in May. Even though Petro-Canada is 85 per cent owned by the federal government, founder and publicist John Wili and a did not intend Canadian money to be involved for the move. If the station in Hightstown is a success, the ad added, Petro-Canada will likely open stations in other border towns. The advantages are clear due to lower taxes, but Petro-Canada also sold gas last week for the remarkably low price of 62.3 cents a litre—about 20 cents less than at Montreal outlets. Said Wili, "You can't ignore where your customers are going."

CANADA'S ALL-STAR

Because of the vagaries of selecting baseball's National and American League All-Star teams, dozens of Canadian players have been left out of the game. But there were still plenty of household names available for the July 14 game in San Diego. The U.S. team included the Toronto Blue Jays' fan favorite, second baseman Roberto Alomar, along with pitcher Juan Guzman and outfielder Joe Carter. On the N.L. squad, Montreal right leader Denis Martinez represented the Montreal Expos for the third straight year. Another Expo to make the team this year was Larry Walker, 25, the pride of Maple Ridge, B.C., who plays center field for the Cincinnati Reds of Houston. (In 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 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CANADA'S ANSWER

A LAST-MINUTE
DEAL WOULD
CHANGE THE
NATION—BUT WILL
QUEBEC SAY YES?

Just hours after the Meech Lake accord unravelled in June, 1990, a weary and exhausted Robert Bourassa rose in the National Assembly to issue a defiant challenge. The Quebec premier declared that he would no longer sit at the negotiating table with other provincial leaders. Quebec had set its conditions for constitutional change—but this accord had just collapsed amid a furious national debate. Now, Bourassa said, it was up to English Canada to come up with a package of its own proposals. "What does Canada want?" Bourassa asked. Last week, the other nine provincial premiers and federal Constitutional Affairs Minister Jean Clark privately announced that they had agreed on a wide-ranging plan for constitutional change. After 12 hours of intense negotiation, which capped almost four months of secret talks, a beaming Clark proclaimed, "Today, I think Canada has entered 'a Refined Bourassa One-day land.' The constitutional process resulted in offers—and no attack on this fact."

What Canada—or at least English-Canada—wants, according to the premiers and Clark, is sterling change. An elected Senate would replace the appointed upper house and each province would have an equal number of seats, regardless of population. Natives would govern themselves as a matter yet to be determined. The new Constitution must declare an end to provincial barriers to the movement of goods, services, people and investment capital—though there would be a substantial number of exceptions. There would be stronger guarantees that Ottawa and the richer provinces would continue to subsidize the poorer provinces. Each province would be able to block federal changes to the Senate and the Supreme Court—meeting Bourassa's demand for a Que-



Flag factory in Toronto: several premiers warn that they can move no further

bec veto by extending it to all provinces. And any province that wanted more power in certain fields, such as manpower training, could negotiate an agreement to get that power from the federal government.

But it is far from clear that Quebec is willing to accept what the rest of Canada wants. While the other premiers did try to avert Quebec's repeated demands, they also enforced many restraints, such as a strong Senate with equal representation from each province, that Quebec has traditionally opposed. Last week, Bourassa claimed that parts of the proposal would be difficult to sell to Quebecers, and he described certain aspects as confusing and boring, particularly the plan to reduce Quebec's presence in the Senate while giving the upper

house the power to overturn Commons legislation. He also contended that Quebec needed an incentive—perhaps the offer of new powers—to return to negotiations. "We want certain clarifications," he told reporters. "These are not final offers, they are proposals."

In response, politicians across the nation wanted that changes would have to be made. They said that the attrition package was the result of delicate negotiations and complex trade-offs: any major shift in one area could cause the whole deal to collapse. Alberta Inter-governmental Affairs Minister James Sellsman, for one, reacted with politely veiled barbs to Bourassa's claim that the package was still open for change. "We have gone through a

very elaborate process and I do not think there is much—if any—room for alteration of any of the aspects," he said. "We have been at the table for almost four months arguing over how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. There are things we cannot overestimate or repeat."

Even Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who shared many of Quebec's concerns through the negotiations, appeared unwilling to countenance major changes. Declared Rae: "We can talk. We just cannot reopen the whole thing." Faced with apparently irreconcilable differ-

ences, Michael Hrusak said: "It is a good package, but a complex package. No one gets everything they want."

In the face of those hardened positions, Ottawa has few carrots that it can offer to attract Quebec back to the negotiations. If Quebec's status as a major Senate change, senior federal officials told Meech Lake, the federal government would offer provinces still likely to fall apart. Still, there are two key areas where concessions appear possible. Ottawa could offer additional federal powers in fields such as health policy and energy to the provinces, and the Constitution could be amended to answer Quebec's demand that all provinces must approve the creation of new provinces.

If those concessions are insufficient—and the sound collapse of Ottawa would likely prevent any new proposals to Parliament, some federal strategists would clearly welcome that opportunity because it would allow Ottawa to craft a proposal that is better tailored to Quebec's needs. As well, senior federal officials are still awaiting word of Clark's decision to accept watered-down proposals to reduce interprovincial trade barriers. But a decision to act unilaterally would carry significant risks. If it would be difficult for the other nine provinces to accept a new federal package because it would be seen as a rejection of their own hard-won deal. And a key federal strategy: "If worse comes to worst, the feds are going to have to go out on a limb and put forward their own package. That is not a position we made come difficult by the agreement we have now."

In fact, the final legal text of the agreement could take three to five months to hammer out. If its substance remains intact, however, it would radically alter the landscape of Canadian politics. Some changes:

THE SENATE

Five years from now, voters might be handed two ballots when they cast the polling booth—one for the House of Commons and a separate one for the Senate. The new Senate would have eight representatives from each province and two each from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. As well, an unspecified number of seats, possibly eight, would be reserved for aboriginal groups, bringing the potential total to 50. Those numbers would represent a substantial reduction in seats for Ontario and Quebec, which had 24 seats in the present 104-seat Senate.

The proposed Senate would be appointed by western Canadians, who feel that the current parliamentary system benefits Central Canada. A simple majority of senators could defeat House of Commons legislation that affects the taxation of natural resources. That provision is crucial, as westerners strongly fear that the new Senate should have the power to block any

FISHING FOR SUPPORT

Federal Fisheries Minister John Crosbie indicated that he might resign if he is unable to convince the cabinet colleagues to improve Ottawa's aid package to 10,000 fishermen at the wake of the Newfoundland cod fishery closing. Asked what he will do if the cabinet refuses to add to the \$225 a week the fishermen are now receiving, the Newfoundland-born Crosbie said: "I'm not in the habit of supporting the unsupported." Meanwhile, fishermen around the province headed up their sets to comply with the two-year fishing ban.

THE CHANGING BUREAU

The latest census figures show that the Canadian family is changing dramatically. As of June 4, 1990, one in 10 couples lived in a common-law union, a 166-per-cent increase over the 1981 figures. As well, single-parent families made up 12 per cent of all families, compared with 11.3 per cent 10 years earlier.

A MIXED DECISION

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled unanimously that judges can order governments to pay social benefits to individuals when there is a clear violation of constitutional rights. But the court, which had been asked to rule on discrimination and funding federal poverty benefits, also stated that judges should not continue to substitute their views for those of elected legislators when interpreting the intent of social legislation.

QUALITY AS CHARGED

For the second time, former high-school teacher James Keegstra, 53, of Edmonton, Alta., has been accused of promoting hatred against Jews. Alberta Court of Queen's Bench Justice Arthur LaSalle found Keegstra, who is now unemployed, \$15,000 His 1987 conviction for teaching that Jewish conspirators planned to gain world control was overturned last year when the Alberta Court of Appeal ruled that Keegstra's lessons should have been allowed to question potential parents about their feelings on the highly polarizing issue.

A TRUCE AT CANADA POST?

Canada Post and the 45,000-member Canada Union of Postal Workers reached a tentative contract agreement, but could still make over 100,000 postal jobs disappear until the end of 1995. Under the proposed deal, which will be voted on by July 31, hourly wage rates for better carriers and postal clerks will rise from \$14.24 to \$17.06 and union members will enjoy greater job security.

THE PROPOSED TRIPLE E SENATE IS A POTENTIAL DEAL BREAKER

Future attempt to impose policies similar to the National Energy Program—a controversial 1980 federal plan that levied heavy taxes on oil and gas revenues.

The reformed Senate could also defeat Commons legislation in other areas, but only with a majority of 70 per cent. In a further and highly unusual twist, a vote by 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the senators against a Commons bill would trigger a joint sitting of the two bodies. The combined membership of those two chambers—more than 400 politicians—would then vote on the matter, with a simple majority being sufficient for victory.

The method of electing the new senators would also be radically different. It is not clear if voters would select a single senator for a riding—or select all eight senators for the province. In either case, unlike that selecting the single candidate, voters would be asked to rank candidates in order of preference. The candidate—or candidates—with the highest overall approval would win.

The proposed Senate has already sparked fierce debate. University of Calgary dean of graduate studies David Berman has strongly expressed an ethical, equal and effective Senate debate. The interests of minorities are

protected to some degree from the new power of the majority. Although he described the overall proposal as a "fairly good compromise," he ridiculed the method of election as "a wacky idea."

In contrast, Quebec Senator Gerald Boudreau, a constitutional expert, dismissed the entire proposal because, he said, it would result in constant tension between the Commons and the Senate. He pointed out that it will give only 17 per cent of the seats to Quebec and Ontario, even though they represent more than 60 per cent of the population. Said Boudreau, "I was really surprised that Ontario went along with this Senate after 11 Quebec comes back to the negotiating table, those have to be some new solutions." For his part, Premier Bourassa indicated that Quebec might be more amenable to an equal Senate if it had the power only to delay—not reject—legislation. But that idea is clearly unacceptable to some western provinces and Newfoundland.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

In exchange for giving each province equal representation at the Senate, the 285-seat Commons would be expanded to better reflect the populations of the larger provinces. Ontario would gain 10 seats, British Columbia and Quebec would gain three seats each and Alberta would gain one.

ECONOMIC UNION

The proposals to strengthen Canada's economic union have a long history. Ontario stepped up its drive to dismantle the more than 500 interprovincial trade barriers in September, 1984, as part of a five-reaching series of constitutional proposals. An idea designed to strengthen the union, Ontario and the provinces agreed to facilitate that action with a simple political agreement because the constitutional package had become unwieldy. But last month, when it became clear that the more states would be involved, Ontario and the provinces agreed to facilitate that action with a simple political agreement because the constitutional package had become unwieldy. But last month, when it became clear that the more states would be involved, Ontario and the provinces agreed to facilitate that action with a simple political agreement because the constitutional package had become unwieldy.

Although Clark's coalition, senior federal officials consider the government to be far too weak to be of much value. Currently, the Constitution prevents provinces from imposing tariffs on goods from other provinces, but does nothing to prevent the creation of non-tariff barriers such as preferential purchase programs. The new proposal allows as many exceptions that federal officials are deeply concerned that the last actually endorses their restrictions—because it gives constitutional status to 13 different kinds of barriers. "At this point, it would be better to drop it," said one official. He added that the complaints were largely in



Photo by [illegible]

response to the concerns of Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow, who has heavily opposed the economic union proposals because they could severely restrict a provincial government's ability to use subsidies to attract industries. Federal officials believe that Romanow simply underestimated Clark.

EQUALIZATION

After months of intense lobbying by the poorer provinces, the premiers finally announced that they had extracted stronger protection of federal equalization payments for the poorer provinces. Those payments are designed to ensure that government services and programs in the poorer provinces are comparable to those offered in richer areas. But critics say that the new provisions led to take into account "poverty" rather than the University of Alberta economist Paul Boivin, for one, warned that provincial politicians who were dissatisfied with the level of equalization payments might be able to take the federal government to court. "Does that mean that the courts will decide what is an adequate level of public services?" asked Boivin. "We should flesh out this proposal with legalism rather than allow it to be determined as untested ways by the courts."

CONSTITUTIONAL VETO

Since Confederation, Quebec has maintained that it should have a veto over constitutional change because Canada, in its view, is a pact between two founding nations—French and English. However, there is no such veto in constitutional law. Under the proposals, Quebec would really gain that veto—but so would every

James Ray, Que., Cree preserving rights

other province. And the power would apply only to changes to the Supreme Court and to the Senate. The English-Canada provinces have so far rejected another key Quebec demand—that

Chief Ovide Mercredi emerged from the sessions with two thumbs up, indicating his pleasure that recognition of the aboriginal right of self-government remained in the package. Said

it be allowed to block the creation of new provinces.

NATIVE RIGHTS

In 1990, natives played a key role in defeating the Meech Lake accord, arguing that the document ignored their interests. In contrast, native leaders have been full participants in many of the most recent negotiating sessions. Last month, it appeared that native groups had won a promising victory: the Constitution would recognize their inherent right to self-government and, once in place, it would guarantee equalization payments to pay for it. But that work, as previously noted, federal officials voiced their concern over how much power natives would get and how much those arrangements would cost Canadian taxpayers, the deal was rapidly watered down. Provinces promised to fund native self-government—but they refused to put that commitment in the Constitution. Still, Assembly of First Nations National

Mercredi: "We have moved from nothing at the Confederation to fundamental reforms that recognize the aboriginal right of our people to govern themselves."

DIVISION OF POWERS

The proposal recognizes the provinces' exclusive jurisdiction over areas, including mining and tourism. As well, a citizens' charter (labor-market training and culture, with the exception of such key cultural aspects as the CBC, should become fields of exclusive provincial jurisdiction. Last week, Bourassa indicated that the proposals did not go far enough. "We see that there is still a long way to go in the federal proposals for the Quebec government to control human development." That was fed back over many things—but it was an area where Ottawa could make concessions.

Claims must now determine how much common ground exists between Quebec and its provincial partners. While it might appear that the simplest solution would be to give more powers to Quebec to secure its agreement, that compromise is likely to be unpopular in English Canada. Warned the University of Calgary's Berman: "If that's the new structure, there's already gone even further than most Canadians are comfortable with—they go as far as because they were just tired of it." In the end, Ottawa must confront two visions of the nation, what English Canada wants and what Quebec wants. The task now is to figure out if any constitutional package can ever accommodate these two strikingly different dreams.

MARY JENKINS and KIMMY WOOD in Ottawa

PRIVATE INPUT, PUBLIC POLICY

His name is unfamiliar to most Canadians, but one citizen had more influence on the latest plan to restore national unity than Peter Nicholson, a former Liberal member of the Nova Scotia legislature, and now a senior vice-president in Toronto at the Bank of Nova Scotia, the 30-year-old Nicholson is a well-described political junkie who, as he puts it, "is lifelong student in public policy." Five months ago, that interest led him to draft his own proposal for Senate reform—a plan that, with several modifications, formed the basis of last week's tentative agreement among Ottawa and the nine English-speaking provinces.

Nicholson traces his involvement in the unity talks to a conversation in Montreal last February with Jacques Boivin, a senior adviser to the federal cabinet on federal-provincial relations. Nicholson, who has known Boivin for a decade, asked him if any of the participants at a conference on Senate reform in Calgary a week earlier had proposed giving each province an equal

number of Senate seats—was the condition that a substantial majority would be required to override House of Commons legislation. "She said, 'No, but that's an interesting idea,'" Nicholson recalled. "So I went out on my office one weekend and wrote it up."

The result was a five-page document summarizing Nicholson's view that the simplest way to resolve the Senate impasse was to focus on the effectiveness of the upper chamber, rather than argue over the principle of provincial equality. Setting the override percentage at two-thirds or three-quarters, Nicholson's paper added, would ensure "that senators representing a very small population base would not be able to block the will of the House of Commons."

Nicholson then distributed his proposal to a handful of federal and provincial officials, including Borden and Nova Scotia Premier Donald Cameron. Cameron's long-term interest in the issue was, however, less than enthusiastic. But while there was no reaction that would mark a month ago, in official to Cameron's government told him that the Nova Scotia delegation intended to circulate copies of the plan at the next round of unity talks. Then,

which, this month, Nicholson received the first official indication that his proposal had been taken seriously, appearing in reporters after meeting the premiers in Toronto, Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark also praised Nicholson's plan and said that it had helped to break the deadlock on Senate reform.

Even so, Nicholson is modest about his contribution to the unity debate. "I think it was a fairly obvious suggestion," he says. "It's not exactly rocket science." He adds that he is uncertain about the substance of a "Triple E Senate." "On the one hand, I hope that it will strengthen the national government by reducing regional alienation. But on the other hand, I hope that it will strengthen the federal government by reducing regional alienation. But on the other hand, I hope that it will strengthen the federal government by reducing regional alienation. But on the other hand, I hope that it will strengthen the federal government by reducing regional alienation."

ROBERT LEBLANC



Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, provincial council chairman of a constitutional conference, has been vocal in his criticism of the federal government's proposal to create a new Senate. He said the proposal would be a "double-edged sword" for the federal government and the division of powers.

• Shirley Hart, known chief of staff in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, warned that uncertainty about trade and regulation would create problems in the future with a sovereign Quebec.

• Speaking on condition of anonymity, a senior federal official told reporters that he saw in Ottawa's plan to give provinces what will happen in the current 25 sessions if they are to be accepted by federal officials.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"You could have produced anything at all—the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount all combined—and they would have said it was not good enough."

—Ottawa Premier Jean Charest on the reaction of Quebec politicians to the proposed unity deal.

A PREMIER'S CRYPTIC SMILE

BOURASSA KEEPS THEM GUESSING

In the summer of 1995, after his return to power as premier of Quebec, Robert Bourassa spent an afternoon with two visitors in the backyard of his magnificent Montreal home reflecting on his life in politics. Referring to a lower class, saying his customary tall glass of milk, Bourassa joked about the many occasions on which members of the opposition Parti Québécois had tried in vain to flush out his opinions on a variety of issues. With the slight giggle that often accompanies his telling of stories, Bourassa declared: "They should know better than to try to make me say things which I do not have to."



Charest's "considerable progress" but a "difficult task"

Capitulation: Still, Bushma's generous praise for his fellow protesters and the spirit of the proposals was enough to sway some skeptics and encourage liberals. Declined Jagan. Drained, the left constitutionalists offers critic. Mr. Bushma's in his country to consolidate, not to divide. In fact, according to Bushma told Nucleus's that while he is prepared to attend a first minister's meeting on the Constitution, he

calls from his government met in Ottawa with officials of the Federal-Provincial Relations Office. Their meeting dealt with Quebec's concerns about some aspects of the agreement and, a federal adviser said later, an explanation of "the policies behind the package—particularly which governments endorsed which concepts."

Despite Rousseau's generally elusive stance, he and several congresses in later interviews—made clear his opposition to certain parts of the present constitutional proposal. For one thing, Quebec rejects the idea that new provinces—which could potentially reduce Quebec's clout at the federal level—could be created in the future; without this approval in addition, Rousseau appears to be at odds with the other premiers in his view of Senate powers. Quebec has traditionally opposed giving the Senate any real power over legislation; Rousseau might most readily accept an equal Senate if such a legislative body could only suspend, not kill bills from the House of Commons.

Prison: At the same time, Boveau's public remarks appeared to reflect a stronger degree of support for national unity than he has offered since the 1990 collapse of the March 14th accord. At various times, he pressed the new agreement for meeting most of Quebec's traditional demands, attracted members of the Quebec media on the importance of understanding grievances in Western Canada and among aboriginals, and reiterated his belief in federalism. Said Boveau, referring to a recent United Nations study: "This is the country ranked number 1 in the world. We will destroy it without participating in the effort to save it."

In the days ahead, as he eagerly tries to advance Quebec's position without risking what has been piled so far, Bourassa faces constant sniping from the province's nationalist forces. One furoreous response came last week from *Le Devoir* publisher Luc Bouchette. Bouchette, who is known widely for the often incendiary, hard-

I hope that such a meeting will not be necessary. And although he is bound by law to hold a referendum on constitutional reform by Dec. 30, he did not give a clear answer when reporters asked him if he is prepared to change that deadline.

Privately, our adviser and that theorist hopes that many of his objections to the present agreement can be dealt with by having Ottawa present a "lightly redrafted" version of the agreement in the form of legislation awaiting the present Constitution. These amendments include new provincial powers, would change the province's most potent bargaining chip about the agreement and help Bourassa sell the package across the province. Shortly before he made his remarks last week, two-hour off-

by her editors and her personal views, displayed as an unusually abrupt response the day after the details of the agreement were made public. In large type, his signed editorial read simply, "No." (The *Newsman*, noted about the editorial, launched it off silently with a contemptuous look. A better sign for him was that his party's own national paper reasoned carefully about it. One of the few Liberals to criticize the proposals was backbencher Guy Stelfox, who declared "It is not just not set out clearly 'O Canada'." By the same token, however, Kossow's guarded endorsement of the agreement suggests that it would be a mistake for Quebecers to lower the bars.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is Greater City



Megawette (left). Prince, the potency of the female vote in the referendum

THE VOICE OF WOMEN

QUEBECERS FIGHT FOR FEDERALISM

Molly Frapp's personal apology came while listening to the radio. The retired Minnesota educator was in her kitchen on a frosty morning that December, tuned in to a program on Gandhi's tolerant leadership. "A woman called the show and asked what we were all going to tell our grandchildren if they ever asked what we had done to stop the country from slipping apart," recalled Frapp. "The question stopped me dead as my truck because I realized that if Quebec separated, I would have to tell my own two grandchildren that I had done absolutely nothing to stop it." Faced with that prospect, Frapp decided to do what she pulled up the telephone, called a dozen

friends and posed the same question. Within a month, the 12 had formed a permanent group. Now, six months later, that group has blossomed into a 3,000-member organization of French- and English-speaking women who are dedicated to keeping Quebec in Canada.

"It's Our Country, Let's Talk" is the English name for the organization spawned in Propp's Westmont kitchen. Since then, its members have quietly built bridges across Quebec's

logistic threat by asserting over coffee and country kitchens and city unions, recruiting speakers for larger gatherings in restaurants, hotels and church basements, firing off faxes to politicians and occupying parades and television stations. In brief, their efforts have largely been thwarted by Quebec's politicians and media. But that may soon change. As Harvett's Mosquito, a student research analyst and one of Fregin's original 12 disciples, points out, Quebec now may as well play a major role in this MP's planned provincial referendum on Quebec's place in Canada. Still, Mosquito, who is of Greek ancestry, "You cannot escape the fact that we represent 52 per cent of the voting population."

The potency of the female vote was demonstrated by the 1988 Quebec referendum campaign on sovereignty-association. In the midst of that campaign, Lucie Pigeon, then a Parti Québécois cabinet minister, destroyed her own political career by contemptuously denouncing all women who intended to vote against sovereignty as "Twelvers." The name referred to a contemptible little girl depicted in French elementary-school textbooks. Quebec's Liberal par-

exploited the idea by exploiting women into a belated movement named "Les Yvettes."

Many women in Québec's organization center identification in modern-day Yvettes. "It was a spontaneous event and it's impossible to reconstruct," says the British-born Poiré, who retired a year ago from her post as headmistress of Miss Edgar's and Miss Gagné's schools. "I was in the room when the 1968-69 SBL, the comparison was striking. Like the Yvettes, Poiré's group claims roughly equal numbers of women from Québec's two major language groups—although the concentration of members in relatively prosperous areas of Montreal, Hull and the Eastern Townships suggests that it is far from an accurate cross-section of Québec women. "We may not be Yvettes, but we do believe that the effects of separation, both positive and negative," says Hélène Manahel, a biochemist at Montreal's

Survival. Ingroup debate is not one of the group's members. "There are a lot of pressures to be proud of being Canadian, but we are not really being told what they are," says a Montreal-based French Canadian. Parent-Consent. The 45-year-old mother of two added that many of her friends have not realized that separation is definitely bad for business and most likely led for the long-term survival of the French language and culture. A Quebecer. A Quebecer. A Quebecer. In Montreal, Frapp and her colleagues are waging their campaigns as a show of budget, relying entirely on individual contributions that are generally \$50 or less. The office space—two or three rooms from sympathizers where the group's leaders decide to identify. But they have received some powerful moral support from the blue-ribbon federalist Quebec Institute for the Study of the French Language and the Constitution. Claude Beauchamp, president of the 1,200-member organization, was guest speaker at an information session organized by the women in Montreal last month, scheduled to appear at another time in Hull.

But apart from the Roushington appearances, virtually all of the group's activities involve women only. The organization assembled 5000 and-over-white ladies on July 1 to march in Montreal's Canada Day parade, and by television personality Penelope Champagne, And plans are under way for a rally of women who will link arms across a bridge between Grasse and Hall on Sept. 13 in a show of support for Canadian unity. "We don't really want the men around much," said McGuire. "It's much easier for women to link politics without their men's heads around to intimidate them." Propellers of the "women's explosion" are "I'm perfectly frank," she said, "with a head in a man's hand." McGuire, who has been a man's hand in a man's hand, "we really wanted to get on with this thing and get something done for a change." Few women that these women, at least, intend to be kept.

BABY CAME as Minkid

'WELCOME TO HELL'

Serbia rejected a city under siege that took more as a United Nations relief effort for 300,000 civilians trapped in the Bosnian capital gathered momentum. In March, Prime Minister Milan Milutinovic and other leaders of the Group of Seven unindicted countries issued all belligerents in a statement that if they endanger relief workers, including 800 Canadian peacekeepers in Sarajevo, "the United Nations will have to consider other measures, not excluding military means, to achieve its humanitarian objectives." As if to underscore the urgency of their words, a Canadian peacekeeper, Cpl. Dennis Reid of Goose Bay, Newfound, Nfld., died of a heart attack he suffered on a land mine in Sarajevo.

Later, in Helsinki, 51 delegates to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) blamed Serbia for its year-old civil war in the former Yugoslav federation that has left 140,000 people dead. And Serbians members of the non-nuclear Western European Union defense alliance agreed to send a naval flotilla with air support to patrol the waters of the Yugoslav coast. NATO said that it would also provide support. At the prospect of European military intervention to open a land corridor to the besieged city, increased Marjanovic's European-born Bosnian Croat Ambassador Petric told the residents of Sarajevo about the effectiveness of the relief effort. His report:

Since we got another scared woman as a terrified hostess, scattering along the sidewalk with a shopping bag clutched in one hand. Aun Rukovic, a 44-year-old lawyer, had been walking the streets of Sarajevo all day, trying desperately to find something for her family to eat. Like almost everyone in the city, Rukovic had a terrible, heart-wrenching story to tell: her 63-year-old father, Mehmed, had been injured in the fighting and developed gangrene in his right leg. The boys were starting to fall off, but she had nothing but a little bread to give them. With United Nations convoys bringing tons of food and into the city, Rukovic figured, there must be something for someone as desperate as her. But an exhausting day spent knocking at the doors of charity agencies, churches and neighborhood markets produced nothing but words. "Express it was for help, tell me to go home or there," Rukovic said, giving way to fear and fatigue with a flood of tears. And then she was gone—disappearing around the corner, back to her hungry family and her dying father. For some of Sarajevo's 300,000 people, the

IN SARAJEVO, SOME DEPRIVED CITIZENS REGARD THE UN RELIEF EFFORT AS A CRUEL DECEPTION

UN relief operation did bring new hope after three months of bitter ethnic fighting. The Muslim neighborhood of Stenice, which had been surrounded by Serb forces for 20 weeks, finally received its first aid from the outside world when Canadian peacekeepers in armored personnel carriers escorted a convoy of 10 trucks carrying foodstuffs. The soldiers were greeted as heroes, showered with flowers and treated with fruit juice. But for Aun Rukovic and tens of thousands more, the United Nations' much publicized operation was little more than a cruel deception. For them, there was no help—only a renewal of the shooting and shelling that has turned their once beautiful city into a killing ground.

The heavy fighting that broke out in mid-winter threatened even the fragile lifeline established by the UN protection force. By then, an average of 15 planes a day were touching down at Sarajevo's airport, carrying everything from powdered milk to French army combat rations, French handguns and drugs. Flights from Canada, Russia and a dozen other countries landed the most dangerous airspace in the world, dipping down among the hostile hills that surround the city to bring in \$200 tons of aid each day. Canadian and French soldiers guarded in to unload the planes and ensure that the aid arrived safely in five warehouses around Sarajevo. In principle, the aid effort was enough to put a hot food parcel into the hands of 35,000 families a day. The real reality was that inefficiency and outright corruption meant that much of the needed supplies went without, while relief supplies quickly turned up in Serb private black markets.

In one Market case last week, witnessed by Marjanovic, boxes of UN food aid designated for distressed families were being hoarded off directly to Muslim fighters. After UN convoys took the food to central warehouses, officials of



the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) distributed it through a network of private charity groups around the city. All the offices of one group, an Islamic charity called Mekkeban, desperate people were vying to buy up, only to be told that packages would be given out in their local neighborhoods. A young official, Nedim Salovic, directed inquiring applicants to an aid center at the Kovacevic Hill district of the city where, he said, needy families would receive very little that day. By the fall, the local civilian's president, Milan Gdabo, explained that he had only 340 parcels for 13,000 families. Each box contained food for a month's cooking oil, canned meatballs, corned beef, sugar, lard cheese and concentrated milk. "This is our first shipment," Gdabo said, "and

we are giving it to the people most in need: the refugees and the poor."

Gdabo said that he had a list of the neediest families, who would receive food that day. But this list had been misplaced and the distribution would be delayed. It was scheduled for 4 p.m. A half-hour after that, about 60 young soldiers from the Bosnian Territorial Defense Force, some carrying weapons, flung up to the aid center. One by one, Gdabo called out their names and they walked out with the parcel food parcels. Some happily posed for photographs.

45-year-old American who is the UNHCR's chief of operations in Sarajevo. "We aren't trying to make them better fighters and grabbing the conflict," Gdabo said. He had a list of clothes and other packages of private food cheese were being taken out of the boxes and sold on the black market and one Muslim community had been given American army combat rations, which contain large quantities of pork.

Journalists staying at the Holiday Inn hotel, a battered structure frequently targeted by Serbian mortar and sniper, found more evidence

A woman grieves at a Sarajevo cemetery: the terrible consequences of war

with boxes of food on their shoulders and so 47 assault rifles along across their backs. Gdabo was unapologetic. "The men who are most in need are the members of the territorial army," he said. "They are mostly working people who are in the front lines. So we are trying to supply the fighters and their families." Finally, he denied his own territorial army existed.

His officials were surprised but not surprised at the abuse. If Serbian forces learned that Bosnian troops were being supplied with aid parcels, they could accuse the United Nations of taking sides and bring the entire relief operation to a halt. "Our facilities here won't distribute food to civilians," said a frustrated Rick Garlick, the

of these on their own dining tables. Seen after the first shipments of the aid arrived in the city, the reporters were served chicken and fish cheese—the two most sought-after items in the food boxes. It was washed down with bottles of Valtov mineral water, the same brand from a center by a French relief plane.

Seven kids, at least, was getting to the right place. Outside the Holy Trinity Church in New Sarajevo, a neighborhood of modern apartment buildings that have escaped serious damage, several hundred homeless men and women sat on the ground last week even after all 200 food parcels had been distributed. "I can't give you something I don't have," a homeless and weaker shivered in a van, but

World Notes

A DEAL IN ISRAEL

Prime minister-designate Yitzhak Rabin signed agreements with two small parties, the ultra-orthodox Shas and the ultra-Masorti bloc, securing his Labor Party-led coalition of at least a 60-seat majority in Israel's 120-seat Knesset (parliament). Labor, which won 44 seats in June elections that ended a 15-year reign by the right-wing Likud, is committed to giving Palestinians in the occupied territories limited self-rule by early next year.

ASSESSING MISCONDUCT

A federal jury in New York found back-seat Pin American World Airways guilty of "willful misconduct." For its security in baggage handling before a bomb placed on a Pin Air earlier view-upover Lockheed. Sentenced, on Dec. 21, 1988, killing all 256 people aboard said 11 on the ground. A further trial will assess the damages that are due to relatives of the victims.

A FIRST FOR POLAND

Poland's parliament elected Hanna Suchocka, a 44-year-old lawyer who leads a women-party coalition, as the country's first woman prime minister. The vote followed the resignation of Prime Minister Walleslaw Piatkowski, who failed to form a government during a month in office.

CLOSING A CHAPTER

Career diplomat Thomas Kissel, 54, was sworn in as Austria's premier, closing a painful chapter in the country's history. Kissel replaced 79-year-old Kurt Waldheim, a former secretary general of the United Nations, who was largely isolated by Western governments during his six-year term after it was disclosed that he served as an intelligence officer of the Nazi Wehrmacht in the Balkans.

AN ADMISSION OF GUILT

Officials in Tokyo acknowledged that, during the Second World War, Japan's government kept tens of thousands of Asian women to work as sex slaves in brothels for imperial soldiers. Officials had earlier insisted that businessmen, not the government, had operated the brothels, in which thousands of women died.

GO DIRECT TO JAIL

In Miami, Federal Court Judge William Korrerer sentenced former Panamanian dictator Gen. Manuel Noriega, convicted in April on eight counts of racketeering, money laundering and drug trafficking, to 40 years in prison. Noriega argued that Washington targeted him because he refused to let his country be dominated by the United States.

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BABY BOOM TICKET

CLINTON AND GORE
SIGNAL THE EMERGENCE
OF A NEW GENERATION OF
AMERICAN LEADERS

They are both northeastern, Ivy League university graduates, chockablock family men and veteran political campaigners. They are also baby boomers, claiming the largest generation of American voters as their own. Last week, 45-year-old Arkansas Gov. William Clinton named 44-year-old Treasurer Senator Al Gore as his running mate in the race to succeed President George Bush on May 3. Simultaneously, Clinton and Gore are clearly confident that their differences will appeal to voters. A five-term populist governor, Clinton is well versed in domestic affairs, particularly economics and education. Gore, who spent four terms in the House of Representatives before being elected to the Senate in 1984 and again in 1990, is an expert in the fields of environment, foreign policy, defense and arms control. "We have worked for the past 12 years in different ways to [solve] the problems America now needs the president to solve," said Clinton, referring to the Reagan and Bush eras. "I think that's a case we can make to the American people."

Once the course of an campaign, Clinton has basked early in Bush's economic policies, viewing that a Democratic administration will take a sharp turn away from Republicanism by investing substantial amounts of tax dollars to get businesses and America working again (page 32). Now, with Gore on the ticket, the Democrats are also poised to go head-to-head with Bush's rising state, Vice President Dan Quayle, on the hot-button issues of family values and military service. The choice of Gore also signals the campaign's focus on the South, which has voted heavily Republican in the past four presidential elections, as the key battleground. Although educated at Georgetown University, Oxford and Yale Law School, Clinton's roots are firmly planted in Arkansas (page 26). Gore, a Harvard graduate who has spent much of his life in Washington, claims the Tennessee town of Carthage as his home. See Mike Black, an expert on political strategy at *Adast's* Smiley Democracy. "This is the rising moderate ticket: the suburban, yuppie, middle-class, suburban ticket."

Character: The choice of Gore could help ally voter concerns about Clinton's character. While at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in the late 1960s, Clinton says, he tried, but "didn't make it," marijuana—an experience that earned him criticism as an ego-maniac. A question mark still hangs over how he managed to evade military duty during the Vietnam War. And allegations by Gennifer Flowers, a sometimes lounge singer from Little Rock who claimed that she had a 10-year affair with

the married Clinton, cast him in the role of a womanizer. Clinton denied the charges. And the issue has partly receded because of public support from his corporate lawyer wife, Hillary, who has taken an active role as Clinton's campaign adviser (page 34).

Gore, who ran an unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1986, is untested by scrutiny. Although five years ago he freely admitted to smoking pot as a Harvard student (he did admit), the discussion brought no media scrutiny. The son of Democrat Albert Gore Sr., who spent 32 years representing Tennessee in the House and the Senate, Gore decided against coming to Canada as a draft dodger, joined the army in 1966 and served as Vietnam despite his—and his father's—opposition to the war. That stands in stark contrast to the husband Quayle, who faced a subliminal in the Indiana National

Guard. It is a fairly dispassionate survey of Quayle last week, Clinton said of Gore. "The man standing beside me today has what it takes to lead this nation from the day we take office."

Gore, a devoted father of four, also brings a previously untold side to the ticket. Last August, he cited family reasons for his decision not to challenge Clinton for the Democratic nomination. "I would like to be president," he said at the time, "but I am also a father and I feel strongly about my responsibility to my children." Gore's son, Albert II, had only recently recuperated from surgery to correct severe damage sustained in a 1989 jet and car accident. Meanwhile, Gore's wife, Mary Elizabeth (Tipper), led a campaign that forced the music industry to put warning labels on records whose lyrics dealt with sex, drugs or violence. That may also provide a contrast to Clinton, who carries the family-values banner for the White House.

Gore's 36 years on Capitol Hill could prove invaluable to outsider Clinton. "If Clinton is the president he will be working with a legislature controlled by his own party," said political analyst Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution, a nonpartisan Washington think-tank. "And it will be particularly useful to have someone who truly understands that body and one who is in the house, and in turn interpret him to the legislature." Clinton said that Gore would play "a leadership role" in a Democratic administration. "I'm going to send him to Capitol Hill to take the lead in passing our program in the first 100 days."

And vote: Based on Gore's voting record in Congress, a Democratic victory in November would also give Canada a strong ally. Gore is a prominent environmentalist who supported the U.S. Clean Air Act that led to the landmark anti-car accord signed by Clinton and Washington last year. And at last week's United Nations Earth Summit in Brazil, Gore urged Bush, although unsuccessfully, to join Canada in signing a treaty to protect plant and animal species, and another to cut the world's carbon dioxide levels. He also voted in favor of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1988, and on joining the White House "fast-track" approval to negotiate a North American trade deal.

The last Democratic ticket to win the White House, Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Walter Mondale of Minnesota in 1976, did so with heavy southern support. But by breaking the political tradition of choosing a running mate from a different region of the country, Clinton runs the risk of alienating many non-southern voters. See Emory University's Black. "From outside the South, people very find it hard to tell Clinton and Gore apart." As political pundits are wont to ask, will a man in *Peoria*? Clinton is clearly convinced that his gamble in picking a running mate from a neighboring state will pay off on election day, opening the way for the Clinton-Gore team to turn the United States in new directions.

ANDREW SILVERI with correspondents' reports



Hillary and Bill Clinton (left) with Al and Tipper Gore in Little Rock, making the South a battleground

DOWN HOME IN CLINTON'S DIXIE

In southwest Arkansas, there is a stretch of two-lane highway that spans the railway line on the flatlands between the tiny town of Hope and the larger but equally unreachable city of Texarkana, 45 km to the west. Older residents called Highway 67 the Backway of America because it reached out to the great distant cities of Chicago and Dallas. But at home, the road is also a line that splits the state diagonally. To the south and east lie expansive cotton fields with their scarring history of slavery; to the north and west rise the Ozark Mountains, which harbored the quiet, isolated life of the hillbillies. And along Highway 67 in the remote southwest corner of Arkansas, where the cultures of

South and West converge, such towns as Hope and Texarkana have been infused with what 76-year-old Hope resident George Frazier calls "a frontier spirit, where people are independent, trusting, resourceful—and not afraid to take a chance."

Hardly it, indeed. In a strange political season, two men of that small pocket of the country have ventured out from the back of beyond to run for president of the United States. From Texarkana, which straddles the Texas-Arkansas border, charges self-made billionaire and independent candidate Henry Ross Perot. And from neighboring Hope just up the road comes William Clinton, who became the youngest governor in his state's history and who this week accepts the Democratic party's nomination as its candidate in the Nov. 3 presidential election. Forged by a southwestern upbringing far from the now tainted world of Washington politics, both men stand a good chance of defeating George Bush, a president whose roots are embedded in upper-class America—the son of a wealthy Connecticut family who came of age in the Houston business establishment and who is now the cosmopolitan Washington insider.

By comparison, Perot and Clinton present themselves as candidates steeped in the values of Middle America. "The mentality here is a million miles away from Washington," says

Crystal Carver, a 38-year-old mother, as she watched her children roller-skating in a Texarkana rink. "Sometimes, I think we're in another country."

For many Americans, Arkansas is a million miles away. A largely rural state of 2.6 million people, it has traditionally been the last of jobs about its hillbilly image—even if any true mountain men still alive are most likely to be found in mining towns. "We all know how everyone thinks of us, backward, backward, and wearing catnip jeans like on *Jim Belushi*," acknowledged Fayetteville lawyer Todd Bennett as he convalesced through a week's bedridden convalescence at a shrimp boat hotel in a modern hotel by a prosperous local legal firm. Even in the South, there is widespread ignorance about Arkansas. "I'll never forget my mother's exact words when I told her I was moving to Fayetteville, Ark.," said law student Sarah Sweetser, 36, recalling a conversation with her mother, who lives in North Carolina. "She said, 'That's wonderful, darling. Just exactly where it belongs!'"

There is some truth to Arkansas' well-worn image. It remains, by most measures, one of the five poorest states in the United States. But Arkansas also has some of America's richest people and corporations. The recently deceased Sam Walton, who founded the Wal-Mart discount store chain and because of America's richest men, took his fortune from headquarters in Bentonville, in the state's northwest corner.

Northwest Arkansas is also the clerical capital of the world, housing, growing and processing about one billion of them every year for sale in such honey markets as

Japan. In the Ozarks, the hillbilly culture has receded into the tourist shops that line the scenic highways, replaced by a mix of religious fundamentalists and back-to-the-land hippies who migrated there in the 1960s. The hills can also house in a scary fringe exclusive paramilitary groups and white supremacists, led by Rev. Jesse Robb, the grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Arkansas has a troubled history of race relations. But it also has a record of electing politicians known for their



CLINTON: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS

informal, pragmatic and, it is that Arkansas of paradoxes that fashioned the politics and character of Bill Clinton, a five-term governor now running for the highest office in America.

"I had a pretty average Arkansas childhood: we didn't have much money, but I didn't ever feel disadvantaged," Bill Clinton tells a group of his 15-year-olds, who are gathered on the terrace of Davidson State College in Asheville, N.C. The teenagers, most of them with financially or emotionally troubled lives, are part of a Clinton-sponsored youth program aimed at encouraging them to stay in school. For years, Arkansas trailed all other states on educational standards, and Clinton made school reform a centerpiece of his administration. "We want you to go on to college," he tells the group as they leave Sunday afternoon. "You people come from families like mine, where no one ever had a college education."

The son of a nurse, and a father who died in a car accident three months before he was born, Clinton spent his first seven years in Hope. He was raised mostly by his maternal grandparents. His grandfather delivered and ran a small grocery store, but money was always tight and living conditions were basic. The Second World War veterans who returned to Hope in 1946, the year Clinton was born, came home to a small town where cotton was the struggling cash crop and light industry consisted of a brickyard and a tail-holite factory.

Eventually, Freda Greenawald, the daughter of a wealthy Black family, was introduced to Hope by her ex-husband. Greenawald was an experienced lawyer, but it was a fabulous role for her. "Florida wanted to show her father that a woman could run a business," says Carl Stuart Jr., 69, a lifelong Hope resident who saw the actress in her hometown of Chicago, where the town is located. "She started the clinics and cattle business in that area that changed the cotton one." With the cotton weave of the brand from women—many of them Black—now exported to southern states to find jobs.

Now, although poverty struts on into Hope's economy, the town of 10,200 has produced a manufacturing sector that produces such products as high-quality auto speakers. Yet Hope remains best known for its claim that it grows the world's highest watermelons, some weighing up to 200 lb. Its town motto is, "At a slice of the good life," and every August Hope holds a watermelon festival that attracts more than 75,000 visitors. Events like that, said Stuart, are what separate Arkansas' backward image in the rest of the country. "We're always getting looked in the teeth because we're from Arkansas," he said recently. "People up north are surprised to learn that we can watch the World Series on TV down here."

It is a complaint repeated around the state. Layer company executive James Phillips, 32, a native of Parent City, in eastern Arkansas, laughs loudly when describing the state's image. "Arkansians are supposed to be known for being in a weed and water country and I guess that's true. I think it's probably because a lot of it has been exaggerated," he said. "But I want Clinton to tell them that if he is the president, he could show the country that Arkansas has smart people who don't all talk back. The coal change our image."

Hope's Hempstead County has been far more the end of the Second World War. It is the seat of power of the Hot Springs, in the foothills of the Ozarks, where people from Hope still go if they want a drink and a bag

of hot out. Hot Springs was where Clinton grew up after his mother married Roger Clinton, whose surname Bill would take at 15. And in the Hot Springs of the late 1950s and early 1960s, liquor flowed, the Gateway race track beckoned and illegal gambling and brothels flourished under the averted eyes of local authorities. Ever since the mid-19th century, visitors had been attracted to the reputed healing powers of the town's thermal baths. Some of the tourists were gamblers, including Al Capone, who owned Suite 443 in the grand Arlington Hotel for his actual visits in the late 1920s. The combination of leeches and hot water, said Stuart, led old timers to say that "Hell probably wasn't very far from Hot Springs."

In authority is almost as old as the town. An 1876 article in *Harper's magazine* said that when Hot Springs had been seen "in good stead of the rough gambling, drinking and shooting life, it presented the town in quiet and orderly," although the writer did warn that the town's healing powers provided "an immense field for quackery [that] is waited to its fullest extent." The peace did not last. In

1884, Civil War veterans and southern gamblers May 5 & 6, 1884, were named to challenge Clinton's corporate Frank Plyn, known locally as "Boss Gamble," for control of Hot Springs. The Plyn-Doran feud led to a shootout on Bebbhouse Row along Central Avenue, the main street. It left three of Plyn's men dead, and the angry citizenry chased both gangsters out of town.

But criminals rarely left Hot Springs for long. During the 1920s and early 1930s Prohibition period, Chicago, New York and Miami mobsters would deliver a mass of fine tail suits and travel to Hot Springs to relax. Most local politicians were willing to tolerate the action, especially Sam Patrick McLaughlin, the mayor from 1917 on to 1950. The mayor McLaughlin is perhaps best remembered for his name of horses named "Scotty" and "Boys," which he used to drive down Central Avenue. He was finally driven from office by Sidney McMath, a cross-eyed local lawyer who later became a state governor. McMath ruled a group of outraged residents to challenge against corruption, part of what became known statewide as the "GI Revolt."

Even so, Hot Springs remained a white-gown town throughout Clinton's teenage years. "You saw it, you could be it here," revealed Wilson Hays 60, who, for 25 years, has sold ads for *The Sentinel Record*, Hot Springs' daily newspaper. "It was a small-scale version of Las Vegas." During Clinton's childhood, local nightlife like the Vagabond's such as performers as Piggie Elliot, James Capone and Betty Rowley. And a local music, Mel Brown, was the name of the town. In his confidential memoirs published in 1983, Jones described Hot Springs as infested with corruption, where a share of the profits from "the Masses," as he knew on Palm Street was known, was diverted to politicians and politicians. A federal justice department report in the early 1950s and that Hot Springs held the largest illegal gambling operations of any state.

Despite its warnings, Clinton, instead of being, say, those who know him. He is mentioned for hours throughout his 1994 graduation yearbook, "The Old Gold Book," from Hot Springs High School. There, among other things, he played saxophone in the all-state band and won the Ed's Youth Leadership Award. But it was impossible to be unaware of the town's wild side, especially when a bomb went off in the Vagabond in 1961. "Just five miles west, every person from here who was going on," said Clay White, who for 25 years was an arm rest band in Hot Springs and is now the town's sheriff. "The residents of the law



Archie Schaffer in Springdale chicken plant about a billion birds every year

were more or less accepted." White said, adding that even Clinton's uncle Raymond, who owned the local truck dealership "You can see all machines that he had acquired throughout town."

After Clinton left for Georgetown University in Washington in 1964, where he worked as an intern to Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright, federal redneering laws closed down most of the action in the Springs. These days, the Southern Club, once a gambling palace, has become a state museum. And even the strip clubs on Bebbhouse Row are gone, except for the small Entertainment Club, with its singing stage and four servers. "I was born too late," said singer Brenda Turner, 38, 38, 38. "People in that town just sit around waiting to die."

Clinton did not wait. In 1963, he had traveled to Washington with a national student organization and met President John F. Kennedy, and the experience galvanized his political aims. "Bill's ambitions stem from that meeting with JFK," says Archie Schaffer, a former aide to Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers, whose mother's Tyson Foods Inc. in Springdale. "From that moment on, he knew he wanted to be president." Others who know Clinton said that Hot Springs, with its outcasts of out-of-state visitors, offered a vivid awareness that there was life outside Arkansas. Said longtime Clinton friend Frances "Hot Springs give a glimpse from outside the country, so it always looked at its difficulty thus the rest of the state."

The billboards along Highway 7 selling enteracts "The Sex Wilson" in Boger-Billow began about as soon as the road started to climb into the Ozarks. There was a cemetery at the end of Boger-Billow, where the name of the town, local legends which held that ghosts made the stretch of road between the graves a risky place. The area also has a violent history: after the Civil War, a group of newly freed slaves called the follow to establish a militia unit serving into the hills to impose order.

Now, the only people getting bulldozed are tourists. Boger-Billow is little more than a roadside gift shop for hillbilly tourists, everything from T-shirts to a 1961 Ford Mustang. The shop is a small building with a sign that says "Boger-Billow" and a sign that says "Boger-Billow" and a sign that says "Boger-Billow".

hillsides are dead now, but they were here when I was growing up," said 52-year-old Glenn Adams, who lives and works in the hills.

The mountains of the Ozarks enabled its white hillbillies, mostly descendants of Scots-Irish and Irish emigrants who had pushed westward from the Appalachian Mountains, to impose their own brand of law and order in the hills. They earned a meager living from hunting or from making small farms. And the construction of a few jobs and a horrific white population discouraged blacks from settling in the hills. "This is not a place of the mountain, poorest counties and people here always made a pretty close to blacks that they had better get out of here," said Adams. (Shelby Wells, who has lived outside Mount Juliet (pronounced "Judy") in Newton County since the early 1970s. Wells said that racism makes it "tough to be a liberal and live here. This is not Clinton country.")

While taught English in the local school for three years before going up in frustration. "The only book in my house is the Bible," she said. "And the only books I could get them to even look at were in learning or bookish. They didn't want to know because few of them have any interest in ever leaving the Ozarks."

But it has been impossible to keep other influences out. Television's entrance ended the isolation of the hills and even Hollywood and New York seem to be getting the message that Arkansas has changed. The image of the Ozarks lately in *The Beverly Hills* may have been the way 1960s television series saw the Ozarks. But *Lawrence Sanders*, a current network comedy series set in the northern Arkansas county of the same name, features the Newton family, whose father is a high school football coach and whose mother works as a waitress. The family follows in hope since now mostly for tourists. Further north on Highway 7, an otherwise picturesque route, in the heart of the Ozarks, where the equivalent of Disney World's Mickey Mouse and Goofy are the characters of a local company's L.M. Hines cartoon characters (by the way, it's not a cartoon). And Adams of Boger-Billow, "Especially," she added with a smile, "if we can make money off it."

Mostly money in northwest Arkansas and most people are chickens. Thousands of Duro—7½ mature sows each producing five—chickens spill out through pens where they have their meals on a business picked, their wings extended and then are frozen into nuggets, legs, portions or as the other myriad chicken delights. And in Arkansas chicken: country, even company is kept. Tyson Foods, Inc., which has sales of \$4.7 billion in 1991 and employs 22,000 people in Arkansas.

Tyson has grown rapidly by buying out competitors so that it now controls half of the poultry industry in the state. Its near total of the most stable target for environmentalists, who have estimated that the industry has polluted the groundwater and streams of the state with chicken waste. Activists have accused Clinton of trading away environmental protection over their economic growth, although that have been simplified recently and denied by the company and its lawyers. The companies deny the charges.



The uneasy relationship between one of the state's biggest employers and the governor is unusual for Clinton, who has carefully cultivated the co-operation of big businesses. The taciturn person James Blair, Tyson's chief counsel, is a key member of the Clinton campaign, and Hillary Clinton sits on the boards of two of the state's largest companies: Wal-Mart and 7-Eleven Enterprises Inc., the yogurt company whose name is visible on top of one of Little Rock's tallest buildings.

The governor has been criticized for his ties to business. But the northwest corner—once the poorest part of the state—is now its fastest growing region, attracting retirees from other states who are lured by its pretty landscape and low cost of living. "Arkansas was always a place that people flow out to get somewhere else," said Joyce Klein at a suburban Fayetteville garden party. "This area is the best-kept secret in the country."

Indeed, Arkansas' old-money families tried to take a backseat view of the northwest's newfound affluence. A preliminary local story recounts an argument at a meeting of the Arkansas Business Council—a business lobby group better known as the Good Suit Club—between Charles Murphy of El Dorado (Murphy Oil thereby assets \$764 million) and Mid-Mart's Sam Walton (Sam's assets \$15 billion). "Sam," he said, "and Murphy as he made his point. 'You may be richer than me but I've been richer longer.'"

Parr and *Moghini* in Little Rock, and the air-conditioning at the Imperial Dignity Church is striving to keep the congregation cool. Among them is Clara, another fleeing the police, based in southeast Illinois through the tall stained-glass windows. Rev. Curtis Coleman Egle is a cough to deliver the message from the Book of Daniel, Chapter 3: "that everyone should suffer or without grasping death [says] there's no way to die." A holy style fit in salubrious dust. The sermon is delivered in a faint, almost imperceptible "crisp center" to tell the almost all-white crowd: "We are used as fathers and so we lead us." But, he adds, "God's red miracle is to take you through trust times other than anyone you out of a bad universe."

Church deacons pass the collection plates. While soft organ music plays, they move slowly down the aisles passing the deep gold-plated bowls. By contrast, there is nothing choreographed about what is going on four blocks away at the almost all-black Holy Temple Church of God in Christ. The service in the small, stuffy wooden church is an unadorned joyful celebration. The organ is played by drums and a trumpet. The congregation shouts out its praise for God. And the aisles are filled with singing, dancing worshippers.

In Arkansas, as in much of the South, no official segregation persists. Although no one is officially barred, blacks and whites seek out their own churches and neighborhoods. Sent Lewis Perry as he stood outside the Mount Zion Baptist Church in a poor black Little Rock neighborhood. "There may be less tension now, but the South is still color-conscious." Adds associate Kansas Hubert: "Mixed couples still get stared at here."

But many blacks say that the greatest threats to their communities are drugs and poverty. Said Wiggins: "We're just like other American cities now, with drive-by shootings. Drugs are taking away at black communities." In Pine Bluff, a poor city only 50 km south of Little Rock, James McIntyre, 49, who remembers the violence that the South experienced during the 1960s' civil rights crusades, agreed. "Things are better for blacks now in as long as you have some skills," he said. "I'm more afraid of gangs—black or white—than of being attacked because of my race."

But Parr said that blacks still face enormous obstacles in trying to get ahead economically in such small southern states as Arkansas. "Little Rock is still run by the good ol' boys club—old families with old money," he said with some anger. With more sadness, he added "That's why you see areas of great wealth in this city, and others that are still terribly, terribly poor."

The fourth of July fireworks were just bones away, but already the shareholders over Terex had put out a spectacular sound and light show of their own. Afterwards, in a park on the Texas side of the city of 53,000, the Wyckoff family gathered for a holiday picnic in the city where Russ' First grew up. Bill, Wyckoff, 62, remembered attending a cross skis with the son who would one day mount a remarkable independent run for the presidency. "Russ was more interested in running with the boys' track team," he recalled. "I only felt he was going to make it when he was 16. He has shown more interest."

Perot has not left much of a visible mark on Texasiana, other than to reaffirm the old Sanger Thesis and remove it after his family. But Texasiana certainly left a mark on Perot. In numerous interviews, he has recalled his childhood experiences in the spirit of the Norman Rockwell paintings he admires: a sturdy rural upbringing, speed with lessons on the virtues of hard work and close-knit families.

Like so many American towns and saguaro left in Texasland. All through the Cenozoic mountains become desert as shifted to the strip malls, motels and interstate highways. In Texasland, a wide where an old driveway used to be. "We kept the mountains," Weirfield said. "We kept the mountains here. And we just got the history" on the Texas side, at least. Anyone who crossed the border to Arkansas by there: the eastern half of the street is a beer and liquor store.

Peggy Lee Green is an unemployed job trainee. She says she always a Clinton to Perot, but admits that Americans need a presidential forum to get through to its current difficulties. "In the North," she says, "a snicker from her backache walked past," "man is simply a statistic." The southerners take the time to understand people. "As small-town southerners, she argued, Clinton and Perot, "leave how to deal and people one-on-one. It's like they've got a degree in psychology." The factors of social values have changed, but many Americans still look for wisdom in those values, however scholasticized. And the message to the nation is that we need to get our social values out of the box.

BRUCE WALLACE in Arizona



Parr and Hughes in Little Rock: still color-wise



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MASSACHUSETTS

A BLUEPRINT FOR CHANGE

CLINTON UNVEILS HIS ECONOMIC PLAN

In a presidential election year, the largely black audience might have been expected to welcome the Democratic candidate with rapturous applause. But last week, just five days before the start of the Democratic national convention, the 5,000 delegates to an Atlanta Methodist Episcopal Church conference in Orlando, Fla., clapped politely but without enthusiasm when Arkansas Gov. William Clinton trumpeted a dramatic call for change. "What we have to do is clear," the too-the-latter Clinton said. "We have to rebuild this country. We have to unite this country." The rapid reaction from the black voters, traditionally a pillar of Democrat support, exposed one of the tests that Clinton will face after he is crowned at the New York City convention this week, convincing voters that he is capable of reversing the country's growing social and economic woes. "I think Clinton is pushing the right buttons," said James Nelson Brown, a minority-affairs consultant. "But he is not just teaching the people."

Such a laudable desire for American electorates will have to change, analysts say, if Clinton is to become the first lady longer to win the White House. The 45-year-old Democratic standard-bearer, they contend, has to transform his image from that of a dithering politician, branded "Blink Willie" by his opponents, to a presidential candidate representing a new generation of leadership in America. Shunned but embraced by one of the most burning primary issues in American history, Clinton also has to convince a broad group of largely white middle-class voters that the Democrats, dubbed the "Tax and Spend Party" by Republicans, can lead the country's lagging economy. As the Orlando conference unfolded, using a church hymn, which includes the lighting words, "Let us march on in victory as we march," Clinton spoke eloquently. The Rev. Myra Matthews, "He has a plan and a strategy for getting this country back on track."

With opinion polls showing Clinton, President George Bush and uncommitted independent Ross Perot in a close three-way race, analysts agree that Clinton must make his own strategy convincing to the likes of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, presidents who rose up during times when voters yearned for change. In the past two weeks, Clinton has had an opportunity to polish his tarnished image while Perot and Bush secured such

all and empowerment and responsibility." In his candid and southern accent, he asked: "We can make the American dream live again in the lives of all Americans."

Many members of the black church claim that, for them, the American dream was shattered by Republican policies branched under Ronald Reagan and continued by Bush. Republicans cut taxes for the rich and for businesses on the promise that they would, in turn, invest in the economy and provide jobs. Instead, critics argue, the schools paid the way for the country's worst economic performance since the 1930s. Sen. John Adams, an African Methodist Episcopal bishop in Atlanta, "You

give budgets \$34 billion over four years for additional public employment. The money would be spent on building up the country's decrepit, crumbling schools, infrastructure of roads, bridges, sewers and communications systems."

In addition, it is charged to reform a poorly educated and demoralized workforce to meet the country's changing industrial needs. Sen. Jeffrey Pata, president of the liberal Washington-based Economic Policy Unit, "The program recognizes the importance of government participation in the economy while shorter term and existing to make it more productive in the longer term."

In a sharp departure from supply-side eco-

nomist capital, as has been done in Germany, France and Japan.

That new industrial development strategy is a radical twist on traditional Democratic party economic engineering. Instead of using government investments to support declining industries and the underclass, the party plans to use tax dollars to stimulate emerging new industries. Now, said Harvard economist Robert Reich, who was an architect of the Clinton formula, "there is a very clear choice" between the Republican and Democratic platforms. Said Reich, "There are two very different economic philosophies."

But before Clinton can execute his strategy, he must first win the presidency. And many obstacles remain between him and the Oval Office. Last week, Floyd Brown, a Washington-based conservative activist, introduced a new campaign attacking Clinton's character. It was Brown who, in 1986, was behind the notorious TV ads that blamed the Democratic candidate for a rape committed by convict Willie Horton while he was on a weekend furlough from a state prison. This year, Brown has opened a Norfolk telephone line that disgruntled voters can call to hear insulting details on Clinton's alleged dalliance with sometime Arkansas lounge singer Jennifer Flowers. "Once that having survived blurring personal attacks during the primaries, Clinton, unlike Bush, has already shown that he can fight back. 'He's certainly not gonna turn the other cheek,'" said Clinton's campaign director, Bruce Lindsey. Addressing the Arkansas governor's opponents, he added, "If they attack him, he'll respond."

In fact, the Clinton campaign is reportedly ready to launch its own attack ads on the tiffings of Bush and Perot. And while some insist that Clinton would prefer to respond rather than play nasty games, he is also capable of fighting a more negative campaign. Newsmen with a well-oiled economic plan and trained with vice-presidential contender Al Gore, an equally powerful national media, Clinton has tried to position himself as the agent for change that so many Americans say they desire. And for some voters, the fact that he has weathered the brutal personal attacks and emerged to win a party's nomination is another sign of his own resolve. "Most men would have cracked and run," said Bishop Adams at the Orlando church demonstration. "But this man has stayed with it despite the assault on his character." And that, Adams concluded, is a much greater test of character.

BILLY MACKENZIE in Orlando



Clinton campaigning in the South: a sharp departure from Reaganism

other of social tactics. While the Bush administration was further hit by the economic downturn with the release of figures showing that the national unemployment rate had risen to 7.6 per cent, the worst since the recession began, Clinton issued a bold new economic plan, influenced—and in some cases inspired—by several economists. Not incidentally, Clinton pushed that theme of economic renewal in Orlando last week, after urging the African Methodist Episcopal bishops to use their pulpits to inspire their congregations to register and vote. Clinton declared, "I want us to be first in jobs and income and education and health care and opportunities for

all. Clinton's 20-page plan shifts more of the tax burden to the top two per cent of Americans, while own income and share of the national wealth soared dramatically in the 1980s while their share of the tax burden fell. Clinton's plan on military cuts to finance the new public investment.

But it also aims to divert the industrial development skills of the Pentagon, long the main source of government-sponsored money in the economy. In such countries, industries as vertical takeoff and landing aircraft and high-speed trains. And the plan contends that in the fast-changing global economy, a nation's most vital resources will be a highly trained workforce and a well-developed infrastructure, both of which require massive investment of gov-

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Moscow Stock Exchange: the Russian economy remains shackled by a complex and bureaucratic legal system

BUSINESS

DODGING THE ISSUES

Against the apolitical and slightly whitewashed backdrop of a 19th-century palace once occupied by the Russian royal dynasty, Russian President Boris Yeltsin ignored the practical business of rebuilding his country's demolished economy. Instead he single with the leaders of the seven most Western industrialized nations at a three-day economic summit in Munich last week. Yeltsin declared that Russia wanted \$20 billion in Western aid, but would not "beg for it on our knees." In fact, Yeltsin complained about Western trade restrictions that he labelled economic. There, so he often that startled Western leaders, almost toppling British Prime Minister John Major from his chair, Yeltsin said that he was prepared to "go heady" and wrap state-owned firms, factories, oilfields and mines for sale in at least part of Russia's estimated \$80 billion in external debt. Said a senior Canadian official at the meeting, who spoke as an observer of anonymity: "It may not work, but it shows that Yeltsin is committed to

BORIS YELTSIN EMERGES AS THE ONLY WINNER FROM ANOTHER OPULENT AND INCONCLUSIVE ECONOMIC SUMMIT

do whatever he can to stimulate investment." That apparent commitment and resolve were in stark contrast to the deadlock and inertia that gripped the Group of Seven (G-7) leaders at their 18th annual economic summit. Optimistic pre-summit predictions from officials that the seven leaders would launch a united effort to revive the stumbling global

economy and resolve long-standing trade disputes quickly evaporated after the heads of government of Canada, the United States, Japan, Britain, France and Italy sat down with host German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on July 6. Beset by domestic political and economic woes, the cautious members of the world's most elite club avoided by pleading only to continue their own widely divergent campaigns against inflation, high deficits and rising unemployment. Even Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who claimed a success for Canadian diplomacy when the summit's final communiqué included a reference to reducing unemployment, and later that that victory and their modest accomplishments would have most effect on the immediate problems that plague domestic and global economies. At best, Mulroney said, "Ten years down the line, you can measure the value of their impact."

The summit's most visible failure was the Western leaders' refusal to break years of deadlock over the stalled General Agreement

on Tariffs and Trade negotiations. At the meeting, observers expressed cynicism about a plan by French Mayor for compromise over the apparently intractable stumbling block of agricultural subsidies. Many regarded that a resolution to the perennial differences between the United States and the European Community over the issue was the key to fostering economic stability in Europe. And his interventionist control particularly weighed because he is the current president of the European Commission, the European Community's revolving leadership.

Despite Mayor's plan, however, neither the European nor U.S. President George Bush appeared ready to give up on the matter of subsidies. And in the end, the Western leaders simply declared that the G-7 "expects that an agreement can be reached before the end of 1990"—echoing nearly identical declarations proffered at the two previous economic summits. As one senior Canadian finance official told Maclean's: "To be blunt, nothing has really been done [in the area] over the past year."

The reluctance of Western leaders to tackle their differences over trade underlined the interference of domestic politics at the summit. With the exception of Britain, all the G-7 governments will face disgruntled voters in elections within the next 18 months. Neither Germany's Kohl, besieged by the unexpectedly high costs of German reunification, nor Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, bowing under a storm of inflation-peddling scandals in the eve of the July elections, was willing to lower interest rates to speed economic growth. French President François Mitterrand, distracted

by striking farmers and traders who have crippled French commerce since early July, was loath to compromise behind a critical national referendum on the Maastricht treaty, which would lead France more closely to the rest of Europe. Bush was under similar pressure: any constraints on agricultural trade before the U.S. presidential election in November would likely cost him support in many farm states.

The only leader to take home some of what he came for was Yeltsin. Bowed by a July 5 agreement with the International Monetary Fund that released an initial instalment of \$1 billion in aid for Russia's economic reform program, he vowed to the G-7 leaders that "Russia is ready to do anything along the road" to the free-market system. Yeltsin secured both new commitments for further aid and the postponement of payments on Russia's massive debts. In exchange, he committed Russia to implement further reforms of its state-directed economy.

Still, his proposal of a sweeping scheme to trade Russian debt for equity took the Western leaders by surprise. It also stirred some uneasiness. Mulroney, for one, said that the Canadian government, which Russia owes \$1.5 billion, was not willing to consider the offer—but he added that it might trigger Canadian businesses, which are owed \$150 million. If so, they would be added a path sponsored by South American borrowers in the 1980s. "It is the right thing to do," said Donnie World Bank official David Gill of Washington, who helped arrange many of those earlier debt-for-equity swaps. But Gill cautioned that such swaps would offer no quick solution for a Russian economy that remains shackled by a "complex, bureaucratic legal system and a total lack of understanding about markets."

Mulroney, meanwhile, claimed that the Canadian delegation had achieved at least some modest successes at the summit. In particular, he cited a call for an international conference on obligatory debt stocks that could help the embattled East Coast rail industry.

Despite their stonier and major claims to victory, the 1992 summit provided some criticism that it did not deliver. Even Bush waded publicly about the need for a yearly gathering, while Mulroney suggested that the U.S. economy was as dominant that Bush could form a "G-11" and hold a summit by himself. Said Mulroney: "We could meet Mr. Bush around here to year, but just in a room so that he could capture for three days and then come out and tell you what he thinks."

In the increasingly cautious evolution of the pinnacle of economic summits, the idea did not appear entirely surprising.

E. KATE FELTON in Munich and **JOHN DALY** in Toronto

Business Notes

LIGHTNING THE LOAD

Air Canada announced that it will eliminate 1,800 jobs by Nov. 16, reducing its workforce to 18,000. The reductions will affect flight attendants, ticket agents and ground crew. The airline lost \$224 million last year, and Helga Henn, the U.S.-born associate who took over as Air Canada president in February, said that the reductions are necessary because the airline is still a "high-cost operator."

DAY'S NEW DETACK

Relinquished Toronto-based developer Olympia & York Developers Ltd. acknowledged that it lost \$2.1 billion in the fiscal year ending last Jan. 31. It also disclosed that its U.S. subsidiary has defaulted on debts secured by several office buildings in that country, but added that creditors have agreed for the time being not to seize the properties.

SEAR STRIKE ENDS

About 1,600 seasonal workers at The Thrifty Store, Canada's largest warehouse, ended a 31-day strike after giving up attempts to force the paper to delay moves to trim its delivery staff. A spokesman for the Store, which published during the strike, said that the paper would resume normal publication this week.

ASPIR BOWS OUT

Manager outposts out 11. (By) Asper, chairman of CanWest Global Communications Corp., withdrew from a consortium seeking a license for a 40th national television network in Ottawa after other shareholders rejected his demand for management control. Ottawa's Independent Television Consortium will decide in October whether to keep the network.

LOOKING FOR WORK

Statistics Canada reported that the nation's unemployment rate rose to 11.8 per cent in June, up from 11.2 per cent in May and the lowest level since September, 1984. The number of jobs actually grew by 30,000, but that increase was offset by a larger number of people looking for work at the end of the school year.

FALLING BRIDGES

Ottawa rejected proposals from two groups seeking to build a bridge to Prince Edward Island, leaving only the most expensive bid left in the running. Protection-based Fortin Bridge Co. is now the only firm bidding to build the \$60-million span that will replace the ferries that have been the usual province to the isolated sector Confederation.

Yeltsin (left), interpreter, Mike Mulroney: starting



A costly wrong number

Alberta adds up the bill for a phone fiasco



Technicians examining a Novatel phone. Deacon (below) uncontrolled spending

When the Alberta government launched Novatel Communications Ltd. in 1983, it was intended to free the province from its dependence on revenues and outlays it into a brave new world of high-technology industry. Instead, the one-year adventure in the manufacturing of cellular telephone equipment has turned into a financial nightmare that has cost the province's taxpayers at least half a billion dollars. Much of the money landed in a flurry of hastily constructed leading to dozens of small rural telephone systems in the United States. Last week, as a team of government-appointed members gathered on the 12th floor of a skyscraper Calgary office tower to begin the task of determining how much of that money is likely to be repaid, Albertans were absorbing another consequence of the costly venture: in its June 28 Creditwatch report, the debt-rating agency Standard & Poor's Corp. of New York City sharply downgraded the province's financial outlook—as a sure sign that not all Albertans have been as successful in their future borrowing.

Meanwhile, opposition politicians attacked Premier Donald Getty's Conservative government for allowing the financial drain to continue after Getty replaced Peter Lougheed as premier in 1985. "The costs at Novatel were too high," said NDP MLA Patricia Barnett,

"things could not have been worse if they took out advertisements offering free money." Liberal Leader Lawrence Deacon noted that two of the six key executives were former Novatel employees who had appeared in brief news on the questionable loan. Deacon declared: "These are the same scoundrels who made these investment deals in the first place."

The mounting controversy over Novatel is only the latest in a series of financial controversies to land on the doorstep of the Alberta Tories. The most spectacular of those was the 1987 collapse of the Edmonton-based Principal Group Ltd., which cost \$7.000 investors \$136 million. Then, last year, the government was forced to make good on a \$183-million loan guarantee when a controversial expansion plan of High River crashed spectacularly. Other losses include a \$60-million loan to Edmonton-based Gainers Inc., a waste-packing company owned by Peter Fodorogha.

Novatel's troubled history

began when provincially owned Alberta Government Telephones and privately held New Corp. formed the new company as a joint venture directed at developing high-technology communications products in 1983. Nave left the venture, selling an 80% share in Novatel to AGT for \$42.5 million. Late the following year, the provincial government decided to form a private AGT and rename it Telus Corp. But that decision proved lethal. Although a prospectus issued to potential investors in AGT estimated Novatel's profits for the second half of 1980 at \$16.6 million, in fact the company expected to lose \$4 million in that period. The discrepancy became evident when a German electronics company, Robert Bosch GmbH, began examining Novatel's books with a view to purchasing a 49-percent interest in the firm. The shortfall in earnings not only persuaded Bosch to drop its bid for Novatel, it also put an end to the Times attempt to privatize its corporate parent.

Meanwhile, documents that a Novatel subsidiary, Novatel Finance Co., had filed with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington provided equally damning disclosures. Those documents furnished details of how the Alberta firm had lost money to fledgling cellular phone operators in several states, including Nevada, California, Wyoming and New York. According to the documents, Novatel Finance Co. had offered to guarantee start-up loans to assure that no companies would be introduced cellular phone service to rural areas.

The money was to be used to buy switching systems, construct compact base stations and integrate cellular circuits with existing systems. In return, Novatel officials have said, the companies receiving the loan guarantees were expected to purchase expensive hardware from the Alberta firm. The U.S. companies were supposed to repay the loans within six months less over a period of seven years, and together, these expectations reflected an optimism that provided enough cellular telephone operators at the time. "This was a rookie industry in 1983," says Edna Eber, a telecommunications analyst familiar with Novatel's history. "It was set to explode, it was the future."

Last week, the Alberta government minister responsible for Novatel's activities defended the company's strategy. "All manufacturers can experience financing," Technology Minister Frederick Stewart told Maclean's. In fact, earlier this year he had said that the approach

had succeeded in securing orders for its equipment from 31 of 500 cellular phone systems in the United States. But Novatel's losses were made in what critics say were seriously generous terms. In one case, the company offered a Nevada Cellular firm \$2.4 million to fund the construction of a cellular system and its operation for one year.

The U.S. company, case Partnership, was required to put up just one dollar in a July 1983 letter to the SEC partners, whose address was a golf club. Novatel wrote: "We cannot to lend the maximum amount based upon your estimation of the funds that will be required." At the same time, loans were approved with little scrutiny. Once approved by Novatel Finance Co.'s local representatives in the United States, are known as, loans were merely "rubber-stamped" in Edmonton.

Critics contend that much of the money was misdirected. In one case, General Cellular Corp. of Portland, Ore., said \$19.5 million of the \$71 million that had been borrowed from Novatel Finance Co. for day-to-day expenses, instead of for equipment. One other official described Novatel's lack of that partnership as having "no strings attached."

Meanwhile, many of the recipient companies are struggling financially, and the anticipated rush of orders for Novatel equipment seem nonexistent. Instead, three of the six U.S. firms that received loans from Novatel have since defaulted on payments—directing to cost the Alberta company as much as \$16 million. "The government was the super duper for a bunch of dubious companies in the United States," charged NDP Opposition Leader Irv Martin in the Alberta legislature. "What was Alberta doing lending money to companies U.S. companies in a very high-risk business?"

Losing money, for now. Throughout its six-year history, Novatel never showed a profit. Instead, losses mounted to the point that by the end of its 1990-1991 financial year, the company reported that it had lost \$264 million over the previous 13 months alone. At the same time, the company's claim of diversifying the Alberta economy was also losing credibility. In early 1991, Novatel had closed 232 jobs at its Lethbridge plant, reducing its total workforce to about 1,500. In May, 1991, another 387 Novatel workers in Calgary lost their jobs.

With Novatel's losses mounting down Telus Corp., the Alberta government, still intent on promoting the telephone industry, left the struggling cellular phone maker in December 1990, for \$135 million. The decision left Alber-



Getty the latest in a string of financial embarrassments

ta taxpayers liable for hundreds of millions of dollars in Novatel's accumulated losses. Finally, last May, Alberta's Tories decided it was time to turn the ongoing financial hemorrhage. In a complex three-way deal, the province sold Novatel's cellular switching technology to Toronto-based communications giant Northern Telecom Ltd. for \$26 million and transferred its cellular hand-phone manufacturing equipment to Irvine Holdings Ltd. of Calgary, a subsidiary of Hong Kong-based property and company Tech-Tron International Co. Ltd. for \$26.8 million. In the third leg of the transaction, Novatel Finance Co.'s \$306 million in outstanding loans was transferred to provincially owned North West Trust Co. for review and administration (ironically, the process had come under government of North West in 1987, when the government was forced to take over it and another crumbling financial institution, Savings Savings and Trust Co.).

The sale of what remained of Novatel has left the Alberta government and its taxpayers with little to show for its grand experiment. Northern Telecom and Telcel, meanwhile,

have said that they plan to continue producing the former company's cellular switches and switches in Alberta. But apart from the sale to Novatel's real estate holdings in Calgary and Lethbridge, the province retains the company's portfolio of loans as its only asset remaining from the venture. According to provincial officials, North West Trust expects eventually to recover \$216 million of the \$306 million that Novatel Finance originally lent.

At the same time, the tally of losses that provincial taxpayers underwrite continues to rise. For his part, Stewart acknowledged that the first annual bill to be at least \$500 million. That led prompted the credit-rating agency to downgrade its assessment of Alberta from "stable" to "speculative" last month. Declared the Standard & Poor's report: "Provincial finances deteriorated sharply in the fiscal year ended March 31, 1993. This resulted primarily from a \$1.5-billion shortfall in resource revenues and an extraordinary cost associated with disposition of Novatel Communications Ltd."

Whatever the eventual financial impact of Novatel's collapse, its political cost is already becoming apparent in campaigning for a provincial by-election scheduled for July 21 in the riding of Calgary-Southeast. Although Tory candidate Don Love denies that voters are overly concerned about the Novatel issue, his opponent, the Liberal Gerry Deacon, has been vocal in campaigning for a provincial by-election scheduled for July 21 in the riding of Calgary-Southeast. Although Tory candidate Don Love denies that voters are overly concerned about the Novatel issue, his opponent, the Liberal Gerry Deacon, has been vocal in campaigning for a provincial by-election scheduled for July 21 in the riding of Calgary-Southeast.

A full accounting of the Novatel fiasco may not emerge for several weeks. As details of the company's troubles mounted last month, Getty instructed provincial cabinet members to conduct a review of the situation. The report is expected shortly to be laid out. For his part, Stewart told Maclean's: "The absolutely confident that the last figure will not change. I remain angry and frustrated at the staggering amount. And I will resign if the auditor general finds that any part of this loss was due to my negligence." That may be cold comfort to Alberta's taxpayers. For them, their provincial government's entry into the wireless world of cellular communications has already proven to be a costly wrong number.

JOHN BOWSE in Calgary

The color of money

Mitel's founder succeeds on a second try

The event was backhanded in the Michael Cowpland of Enl. In a promotion reminiscent of the Ottawa entrepreneur's initial prominence in the 1970s as the founder of the high-gear electronics firm Intel Inc., Cowpland's first major venture, Good Graphics Corp., was a computer graphics and animation firm that specialized in creating the Academy Award-nominated computer art for the 1981 film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. Lured by \$1 million in prizes, artists from Canada and 30 other countries submitted 3,374 entries created with Good's state-of-the-art graphics software. The winners, including Cowpland, were announced at the annual and charitable gala event in the Great Hall of Ottawa's National Gallery on May 15, more than 100 judges viewed final entries as nine categories—and crowned Vancouver graphic designer Bill Frymire as the overall winner of a one-hundred-point best overall work. Frymire's winning entry, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, is a computer-generated image of a planet igniting, a chemically realistic flamethrower flame, Copland entered the day with a fireworks display over Parliament Hill. Declared Cowpland, 49, who founded Good with \$1 million of the proceeds he earned from selling his Intel stock in 1980, "a computer player who has a lot of fun with his work."

I can't think of having any one fan than the "winners" of the event. Cowpland has combined a flair for enjoying life with a forward-looking business spirit throughout his career. During the 1970s, he peddled for high-priced perquisites, including a personal jet, the right to be called "sir."

thence three, three wide situation, one of it
hence, to Miami Beach that company, which
means phone-switching equipment, was into
difficulty in the early 1960s when its stock
halved to \$200 million. In 1963, Complicated
was absorbed by Miami, which began searching
for new ventures. Seven years later, his new
company is flourishing. Ceef's associates have
divided as each of the past two years to \$52
million in 1967. When the company earned a
profit of \$13.4 million in the company's
first year, the company's revenue under the
\$1.5 million in 1967. Ceef's revenues jumped
by 50 per cent over the same
period that year to \$20.7
million, although profits declined
to \$1.6 million from \$4.6
million. Due to the initial cost
of launching the latest version
of his Cordlesscell software in
May, Complicated has also
learned some lessons from
his experience at Miami.
Ceef, he means, will stay
focused and pay for his ex-
perience 4 years. "You don't
want to waste time talking to
backs," he told *Millions*.
There is another dis-
cussion the practice that
Complicated is becoming an
equity holder, for some ob-
ject than Miami's telephone

switches. Contour allows users of personal computers to create and manipulate detailed images that formerly could be created only on much more powerful computers designed for engineers and other specialists. The programs appeal to a broad range of users, from those engaged in desktop publishing to large corporations. Since introducing the first version of Contour in January, 1989, Corel has sold more than 300,000 copies of it worldwide.

That success, however, did not exempt immediately for the chartered former chairman of the cluster of high-tech companies that sprouted up in the Ottawa area in the 1970s and 1980s. After Comptel sold his Intel interest, some of his former top new ventures failed.

But extracting himself from other ventures allowed Compaq to channel his energy into one goal: He formed the company in 1985 with a handful of engineers that catered to the needs of the defense industry. Compaq's first business plan was to develop a computer designed to specialize in technology that would cater to specific defense types of computers. Graphics software was initially only a sideline. "When we started, we thought we would only need a few thousand dollars," says Compaq's chief engineer, Patrick Revere. "Now, we sometimes sell 2,000 copies a year." Compaq's private life also appears to be on a similar course. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the entrepreneur had a fling with a woman who had no business dealings outside the office with his business dealings. At the height of Matt's success, Compaq owned three tennis clubs, a condominium and a restaurant, in addition to a house in the suburbs. "I was a very busy man," says Compaq, who is now 47. "I was so busy that I bought from developer Robert Casper in 1981. Compaq then spent about \$1 million on additions, including the helicopter pad, a swimming pool and a discotheque with a

Now, his only residence is a less ostentatious three-bedroom house in Ottawa's Rockcliffe Park district. Last year, he divorced Darlene, his wife of 23 years. And last month, he married Maileye Thorner, 33. His two daughters from his first marriage, Paula, 23, and Christine, 20, are both studying medicine at the University of Toronto. And Cowplant still plays tennis at least four times a week.

His primary attention, however, is devoted to Carol Cowpland directing a staff of 525 from a semicircular windowed office, which employees call "the Subbow," on the fourth floor of a suburban Orange office building, where he claims they he spends "700 per cent" of his working hours. But as his celebration of computer art demonstrated, even if Cowpland's corporate style is more chaotic than it once was, he can still cut on a good show.

JAMES DALL, *in Chicago*

Who?

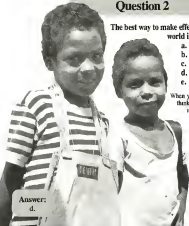
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Question 2

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YES!

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TABLE 1

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DATA TABLE

CARDHOLDER NAME



The world's ranking political saint

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I only met him once, but I've never forgotten the few private moments I had with Vaclav Havel, who was defeated in his re-election bid as Czechoslovakia president on July 3. It was in Ottawa in 1990, when he was on his way to Washington to address a joint session of the U.S. Senate (standing ovation), and he didn't have much time.

But he was glad to meet someone who could speak Czech with him, to be temporarily relieved from having to rely on his interpreter. (He was a big Central European who kept looking under his left shoulder who was as good as his job that all well-wishers addressed him in English, she would whisper to Havel in Czech, I've heard her answer and reply almost instantaneously.)

From our brief exchange, I especially recall two fragments. "I've learned never to be surprised by anything," he shrugged when I asked how it felt for a playwright to suddenly find himself a president. To my question about the secret of politics, he shot back: "Write your own speeches and expect hard truths to a polite way." There he paused, and pragmatically added: "Of course... everyone is replaceable."

Now that he is being replaced, I'm not sure.

Havel was one of those rare compromise-driven politicians we can't afford to lose. A good man in a wicked time, he kept himself removed from the darker trappings of the craft, never sponsored by the furies of fame or frenzy of money. Havel believed that character was destiny and that it was desperately important to live a highly principled life even at the risk of being imprisoned for your beliefs.

He now history as a stage play, with characters emerging in front of ever-changing backdrops. A actually more a page 55 with gurgling bass and his orange acoustic (love breed) piano. "Vaclav looks as if never just is flowing through his veins," he wrote in his

Vaclav Havel was one of those rare conscience-driven politicians we can't afford to lose. A good man in a wicked time.

highly developed sense of the absurd. That comes through most clearly in his plays (his usual constraints in magazine settings with universal characters).

Clearly in the tradition of Franz Kafka and Karel Capek, except for his greater emphasis on the precise meaning of language in a perpetrator or destroyer of political systems, Havel started writing when he was 13. Most of his works—none were allowed to be staged for 18 years before the Velvet Revolution of 1989—dealt with the complicated issues of human identity. "All my plays are variations on that theme," he once wrote. "The disintegration of man's oneness with himself and the loss of everything that gives human existence a meaningful order, continuity and its unique outline."

At no time in his career did he get a better chance to test the obscurities of politics than the weeks of the 1989-1990, when he assumed his country's presidency. That meant moving his office to Husinec Castle, a huge pile of ruins and churches overlooking the Vltava River, which dissects Prague. Just eight months earlier, he had been across a four-year sentence in a prison a few kilometers away. He had been the spiritual leader of the bloodless revolt that swept the Communists out of power, and

now he was being sworn in as the country's first democratic president since 1918.

Being a playwright, one of the first things Havel did was to make sure everyone wore the appropriate costume. He asked his friend Theater Publica (between an Academy Award for his costumes in the movie *Amadeus*) to design property costumes for the parade. The costumes—complex with top hats—their candle-guards. (When they were delivered, Havel promptly tried one on, and yelling, "Let's go score the candle!" ran into the candle kitchen waving his weapon.) Finally it is so large that Havel constantly resorted to getting around the place on a scooter, but after the first few weeks in office he agreed not to come to work in jeans and routine visitors wearing a police-dress how he (the first press secretary was Michael Zelenka, whose main task in time was as the author of the dictionary—well only—study in Czech of the films of Woody Allen).

While at office, Havel granted amnesty to 30,000 prisoners (three-quarters of Czechoslovakia's jail population), provided over the peaceful withdrawal of Soviet troops, defied public opinion by supporting the reunification of Germany and brought some badly needed enlightenment to his country that had not known democracy for nearly half a century.

But his main contribution was his evocative speeches, written by himself as a natural type-writer. Probably the best was his 1990 New Year's message: "For 48 years on Monday, you heard the same thing in different variations from my predecessors: how our country flourishes, how many tons of steel we produced, how happy we are, how we treat our government, and what happy perspectives we are building in front of us. I assume you did not estimate me to this office so that I, too, would be to you. Our country must flourish. There branches of industry are producing goods that are of interest to myself. A country that can produce the goods of the educational level of its citizens speaks so well on education that it makes today as good as the world."

He went on like that for about ten minutes, then came to his real point: "Let us teach both ourselves and others that politics does not have to be the art of the possible." Havel said: "especially in this season the art of specializing, intrigues, secret agreements and pragmatic considerations. But that it can also be the art of the impossible, that is the art of making both ourselves and the world better."

In last month's elections, every one of Havel's comrades in the Civic Movement, was defeated. In Slovakia, the campaign was won by Vladimir Meciar, a separatist who wants Slovakia to be independent. That meant forcing the strongly federalist Havel out of office, a move accomplished with the use of the media, as against his own counterpart by the Slovak success of the federalist.

"Max," Havel once wrote from jail, "as a fact called down—like Christ on the cross—in a great of paradoxes. He believes between the torment of his new leaving his mission and the joy of carrying it out."

Vaclav Havel did both, and we're all the better for it.

PEOPLE

THE BUSINESS OF WRITING

Manhattan-based author Tami Janowitz says that she hates to write—and that *The Big Apple* is a victory over. In 1984, she founded her firm and working to create *Slaves of New York*, a bestselling collection of short stories that established her as the queen of big-city lowdown chic. Now, the 36-year-old writer is set to release *The Male Cross-Dresser Support Group*, which will be accompanied in bookstores by a 30-second video plot summary.



Janowitz: "I can't be around people anymore."

But despite such high-profile endorsements, a Janowitz endorsement, she told *Manhattan*: "I can't be around people anymore without feeling completely misled."



Proceeding with caution

A former *Teenage* *Gorski* says that working with such screen veterans as Angela Lansbury, Diane Keaton, Omar Sharif and Quebec's Loretta Lajeunesse was "a great study." Just on the set of Mrs. *Arts* *Gorski* in Paris, a Canadian-Belish-Belgian co-production, which runs on CBS TV in December, the Winnipeg native received some fatherly advice from Sharif, 60: "He told me about humility and respect," and Gorski, 32, who plays a flâneuse of Paris model in the movie, "and how important they are in this business." Now, Gorski describes herself as "cautiously ambitious," adding: "The 'cautiously' is a new development."

Gorski: "ambitious"

A SHARE OF THE FLAME

Leading up to the Summer Games beginning in Barcelona on July 25, four Canadians will take part in the first Olympic torch relay to include participants from around the world. But the Canadian contingent is unique in its own right: its members are all models from the Special Olympics, a sports program involving more than 110,000 mentally handicapped athletes from across the country. As part of the International Olympic Torchbearer Program, sponsored by Coca-Cola Ltd., Montreal newswoman Kerrie-Lorne Lamb, 26, and swimmer John Woss, also 26, of Ontario, along with track-and-field athlete Tony Moore, 26, of Fort-tune, Nfld., and Jeanette Rochon, 23, of Joliette, Que., will carry the symbolic flame through Alicante, Spain, on July 19.

Flesh and blood

A pop trio Wilson Phillips, Wendy and Carnie Wilson and Daphne Phillips say they are trying to emulate the success of their fathers, the Beach Boys' Brian Wilson and John Phillips of the Mamas and the Papas. But the younger generation's family lives have often been troubled. On the group's new album, *Shadows and Light*, Randy, 22, and sister Carnie, 24, sing *Flesh and Blood*, a ballad exploring their father's tale to them for the first time in two years. "That would start mending the relationship we've never had with him," said Wendy Wilson. "We've stood up our feelings for as long."



Wilson Phillips: mending relationships

Return of the native

Broadcaster Keith Morrison says that in Canada, "It isn't possible to be a journalist." And that is one reason, he added, for his return to co-host CTV's current affairs show *Canada AM* starting on Sept. 1. The 44-year-old San

Francisco native, who signed on with CTV last week, left CBC's *The Journal* in 1990 to become a news anchor with KTVU in Los Angeles. But he says that in the United States, TV news is "a ratings game." He adds: "In Canada, journalism is a business, too, but it's also still a calling."

Morrison: "it's a calling"



calling." Morrison said that he keeps a questioner by game journalist Hamilton S. Thompson pinned up in his L.A. office: "The TV business is a cruel and shallow money trench, a long plastic hallway where thieves and pimps run free, and good men the like dogs." Asked if he will put it up in his Toronto office, Morrison replied: "Oh, probably."



Franklin barriers discourage women from entering the senior ranks of science

EDUCATION

Brain-drained

A top academic leaves for tenure at Harvard

Melissa Franklin's colleagues in the austere world of particle physics say that her aggressiveness sometimes spurs other people. In 1988, when she was trying to secure government funding for a senior postdoc, Franklin met William Wuzong, the federal minister of atomic science and technology at a reception at the University of Guelph, in Ontario. She told him forcefully that her work deserved to be fully funded. According to Franklin, Wuzong responded by telling her that "you are a very aggressive person." Last week, the 50-year-old Franklin said that she planned to accept an offer to become the first woman to leave her position in the physics department of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass. Franklin, 38, says that she turned down an offer from the University of Toronto three years ago because of discriminatory treatment and the hostility she felt from some male faculty members. Declined Franklin? "I think that they didn't want to hire me because I'm female and because I'm aggressive."

Franklin's claims focus attention on the fact that physics departments in North America universities tend to be male-dominated enclaves in which women rarely enter positions. Several Canadian physicists, including James Prescott, a U of T professor, said that they believe Franklin was treated badly by the university. Said Prescott: "The department believed women like Melissa just terribly as a last of ways. I think that there are some who are uncomfortable about the presence of women in our profession." Added Catherine Kallen, an associate professor of physics at McMaster University in Hamilton: "Melissa is very outspoken. As a female in a male-dominated profession, there is a very low tolerance for it."

Franklin says that her difficulties with U of T began in 1986 when she applied for a job as assistant professor of physics. A graduate of the astronomy and of Stanford University in California, where she earned a PhD, Franklin said that at one point she was told she was the leading candidate for the job. But she added: "For some technical reason, the search was reopened and they chose a man for the job." Franklin subsequently joined the physics faculty at the University of Guelph in Chippewagon, Ontario, as an assistant professor. In 1989 she applied again to U of T for a job as assistant professor, but she says that she was offered a more junior position as a research fellow. Prescott called the offer of a research fellowship for Franklin a "real move." Added Prescott: "She is a superb physicist."

Join U of T? As U of T's academic vice-president, told Melnick that she made special hands available to ensure that Franklin was offered a job. Prescott said that Prescott and Robin Armstrong, U of T's dean of arts and sciences at the time, both talked to her about

the importance of hiring Franklin. At the same time, added Foley, she was aware that "there were rumors we were about her in the physics department."

Franklin was subsequently offered an assistant professorship in the department and in 1989, the offer was upgraded to an associate professorship. Franklin says that after she had tentatively accepted the job, a male member of the physics department said to her: "OK, you've got the job. But you're second-rate. I know it and you know it." By then, Franklin was a junior fellow at Harvard engaged in a major experiment based in Illinois aimed at learning about elusive subatomic particles called quarks. She discovered that she took the U of T job, she would be unable to get enough funding in Canada to continue her research at the Particle Collider, a device that is used to create subatomic particles, near Chicago. "I reached the conclusion," she said, "that it would be easier to come to Canada."

Officials at U of T noted that the university had offered Franklin a job, which she turned down. She was last seen at work, said Prof. Derrick York, who took over as physics department chairman in July. Added Prof. Michael Walker, the U of T physicist who was chairman of the department at the time that Franklin was offered a job: "There was no reason on the selection committee, and in fact, Melissa Franklin stood at the top of the list."

Still female physicists say that barriers throughout the North American educational system discourage women from entering the senior ranks of physics and some other sciences. There are currently no women in the U of T physics faculty, which has about 50 members. Melnick has two women in its 25-member physics faculty. The University of British Columbia in Vancouver has one woman on its faculty. In New York, physics departments at many Canadian universities are trying to end the gender imbalance. Rudolph Doss, assistant chairman for graduate studies in the U of T department, said that beginning in September, teams of female graduate students and third- and fourth-year students would act as "mentors" to help first- and second-year women adjust to life in the department.

Franklin said that she wanted to stay in Canada because "I really love the culture and the cities. I really like part of Canada." Now, she says, she will have to decide whether to become a U.S. citizen. Melnick, Prof. Howard Green, chairman of Harvard's physics department, described Franklin as "an unusually talented physicist." George Prescott, Franklin's first supervisor, said: "She is not afraid to tell someone when she thinks they are wrong. She is a leader. She is not afraid to make sure everything is done right," added Green, saying only the very qualities that Franklin always carried her a series of partial results from her nine years at

HAARE NICHOLS

MEDIA WATCH



Blasphemy, or abused privilege?

BY GEORGE BAIN

The old dictionary's first definition of blasphemy is "impious utterance or action concerning God or sacred things." The last, and broadest, is "irreverent behavior to anything sacred, pious, etc." A June 27 story by John Ward of The Canadian Press reported the media's first blasphemous saying that a female subcommittee's hearings on copyright should be televised. The *Value and the Honor* were "blasphemy." As applied to an inquiry into a car's own work, it reflects an extraordinary self-report, even in a television program.

McKinnon described the series and co-edited it with brother Thomas, a reporter and occasional host of CIBC's *The Journal*. Each of these shows dealt with an episode in the Second World War, all, according to the producers, laudatory of the defense of things that the right border offensive against Germany and the enemy's Normandy campaign. Thus McKinnon also complained at the same interview that he had been put "through an ordeal by fire." I wrote myself the starting time, to listen from Samuel Johnson.

Even now, poor McKinnon's action is not done. Senator Jack Marshall, chairman of the subcommittee, admits to some language in the fall, 1981, the McKinnons are not without support. The matter so answer said that he was going to look into complaints of bias and accuracy that the usual Toronto-based club arose to denounce him and his subcommittee for their tenacity. This was conspiracy; they had no right. Peter Bertram to The Toronto Star found the subcommittee's wording in nostalgia.

The border, McKinnon wrote, was "a man's world of cynicism," but not varied and, in consequence, "hundreds of Canadian lives died needlessly." This assessment could do the usual superficial judgments of the program itself. Why, having declared the border campaign more sinister and brutal, would Bertram, who has courted a similar device to hundreds rather than all the 9,519 Canadian women who died?

The man who uses national institutions to propagate his version of history denounces as censors those who disagree

Allen Fotheringham, in *The Financial Post*, portrayed the senators as "upsetting themselves, subcommittee who will tell us what to think." That was who was telling others what to think—the senators who had questions to ask, or a pair of TV correspondents applying 1982 protocols to 50-year-old circumstances. Robert Godfrey, in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, wrote that the subcommittee's assessment constituted reason enough on its own to warrant doing away with the Senate. It makes a strange argument for freedom of expression as that providing an incentive of reply to people affected by a questionable rendering of history written by private action.

Robin McKinnon, in an interview with Jim Wain, co-chairman of the CIBC-TV, news show in 1981, stated in two things the deal on accuracy of history everything in the series and the veterans' affairs subcommittee's hearing on business meeting in broadcasting. According to McKinnon, the professional historians had not done a good job of getting the truth of the war to the public. They were too late and too timid and, in any event, they reached relatively few people with their books. He and brother Thomas, on the other hand, reached two million at a crack.

That makes the war's end a terrible tragedy. Think of it because it makes them for a longer and therefore has privileged access to the largest national television network (CBC), the national film-making agency (National Film Board) and the national agency that helps fund filmmaking (Telefilm Canada), then men in a state to reach a huge audience in Canada to propagate a version of history. OK. But done, however his version comes out under the auspices of national institutions, which gives it a weight it would not otherwise have, it is accepted into the schools—more than 430 in fact, by the subcommittee's count—as a teaching aid. Still OK? Then, whose aggressive representation of people who saw things differently reflect another model of a Senate subcommittee's support of their different viewpoint, that is denounced as unorthodox, censoring, telling people what to think and, what was that after word? Blasphemy. But it becomes all right to question the makers of televised history.

The second item in the series, *Death by Moonlight*, on war bomber Command, which incorporated the Canadian 6 Group, was the show most complained about. The question is not so much whether the facts were wrong as whether the facts were selected to fit basic premises that were held. For example, it was ready to establish Air Marshal Arthur Harris, commander-in-chief of Bomber Command, in villain, the architect of the bombing campaign. This needed only to be kept lightly over the fact that the decision to start bombing had been taken before he assumed command in 1942. Also, notwithstanding that there were already many Canadian airmen serving in war squadrons and that the separate Canadian bomber group was just about to begin operations, Ottawa was said not to have been consulted about the war-bombing policy.

It may or may not have been, but it Ottawa did not think that Canadians in RAF squadrons and its own bomber group operated under such policy. It may not have been such a surprise. Surely any newspaper reader could have known only that crisis were targeted, reading day after day that Canada was bombed, that was believed. Berlin was bombed—and that the separate Canadian bomber group was just about to begin operations. Obviously, bombing others was not "new." But it was not unorthodox bombing as that the planners needed all war purposes, and they were actually defensible.

Second item was the war. It did not even clarify the all-defensive Harris thought it OK. But it may have kept it from being told. Harris, in a 1977 speech, said that he had changed to industry cost the German attack on the Russian from 10,000 of their larger-caliber guns and 6,000 shells. Among the subcommittee's defense, the 1940-41 German attack on home who otherwise would have been available for frontline duty. Harris was actually an anti-war sentiment. But in these remarks, he was quoting Albert Speer, who was Hitler's minister of armaments, and Field Marshal Arthur Wavell, who was commander of German anti-aircraft forces.



Lower: 'keeping alive the cultural infrastructure of this country is not something that governments see as important'

THE ARTS

CULTURE IN CRISIS

The cathartes seemed disastrous even as Ontario's recession-battered economy. Late last month, citing a second year of reduced funding from Ontario's vice-governor, Michael Rieley, president of the board of trustees of the Art Gallery of Ontario, made a sobering announcement. Going unannounced wage and construction costs, as well as a decision by provincial Culture Minister Karen Hawken to hold the long-term provincial funding. Rieley said that on July 4, the AGO would close its doors for seven months and lay off 244 of its 445 workers. Added Rieley: "We simply cannot afford to stay open." That decision heightened concern about hard times for artists and arts organizations across the country. Said Keith Kelly, national director of the Ottawa-based Canadian

FACING TOUGH TIMES, ARTISTS AND ARTS GROUPS ARE WORKING HARD TO KEEP CULTURE ALIVE

Conference of the Arts: "The AGO is the canary in the mine shaft."

Fractured by a recession that has upped ticket sales and private donations, as well as by the GST and competition from in-home entertainment options, Canada's nonprofit associations, galleries, theatres and opera and dance companies are struggling to stay afloat. And as they try to keep consumers and donors interested in done diverse offerings, the nation's cultural organizations are also beginning to feel the cumulative effect of years of stagnant levels of government funding.

The result, according to artists and arts organizers who spoke to Maclean's in a redemptive stream of interviews, is a sense of increasing despair. Said Brian Dixon, general director of the Canadian Opera Company,

which had a deficit for the 1990-1991 season of \$208,000. "The light at the end of the tunnel has been temporarily switched off, and I'm not sure when it is going to be switched on again," he said. Meanwhile, many artists themselves worry that Canadian culture is disappearing. By understanding the current generation of young, aspiring artists, said Ottawa painter Dennis Doerflinger, "you take away their ability to dream—that we as a society begin to lose bits and pieces of ourselves."

But there are also more optimistic developments. Last month in Québec, the cultural affairs ministry unveiled a \$57-million infusion of funds over the next three years for the arts (page 40). And throughout the country, many organizations are showing a steady determination to make the best of a bad situation. In Winnipeg, the Manitoba Theatre Centre just concluded a record-breaking season, aggressively marketing 30 new productions and increasing ticket-based revenue by 17.5 per cent over the previous year. As well, the company undertakes a number of special fundraising events, including a luxury-car raffle that netted \$113,343,000. The company also reports the disappearance of the centre's \$431,000 debt.

At the Ottawa Shakespeare Festival, which is launching its first season, crew members and volunteers have been climbing door-to-door selling lines from the play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which they play to perform this summer. "It's a way to raise money as well as attract subscribers, the promotion sales alone to pay \$2 in exchange for having their name written inside a line of the play, a sign of which is posted outside the tent on Ottawa's Victoria Island, where the company winds its perfect.

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WAGING WAR ON A TAXING PROBLEM

Oct. 4 marks the 45th anniversary of the first printing of the popular English Bible, and Canadian bookstores, publishers, writers, teachers and librarians are observing the occasion in unusual ways. They plan to send 600,000 bright-yellow postcards to all 395 members of Parliament and one key minister urging them to exempt reading materials from the new-percentage Goods and Services Tax. The campaign will be part of a powerful offensive by the Don't Tax Reading Coalition, a group of organizations that opposes the tax. As well, the Toronto-based newsletter to distribute 2.5 million copies of the public newspaper advertisement, beginning in July to alert the public to what co-ordinator David Blust calls the

And at the Art Gallery of Hamilton, where officials led all six of 30 staff members last year as part of a successful effort to avoid a projected \$100,000 deficit, director Ted Petersen said: "In many ways, the tough times are making arts people strong by forcing us to rethink what we want and need to be in the world outside the gallery doors."

Most people who work in the arts say that the two-year-old recession has been a major factor in causing their own economic hard times. "It really hit us last year," said Judy Wilk, board chairman of 30-year-old Alberta Theatre Projects in Calgary. "Subscriptions, door sales, corporate donations—they all went down," noted Wilk, adding that her company's accumulated debt has reached \$500,000.

Despite the increasing difficulty of attracting revenues from the arts, the industry is also citing the evident lack of will on the part of governments to consent themselves to the arts. "The problem is not so much one of money as of priorities," said AGO director Glen Lewis. "What is becoming increasingly clear," he added, "is that despite the rich cultural infrastructure of this province and this country is not something that governments see as particularly important."

Lewis acknowledged that the problems at his gallery, second only to the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa in the quantity and range of its collections, result directly from the wage increases and building program undertaken in recent years. But he and other leaders caution that governments have been systematically undermining the arts in several ways, and they claim that the legacy of neglect is now taking its toll.

Although many provincial governments have been curbing spending on culture, the target of most criticism from arts industry spokesmen is the federal department of communications. In the 1990 fiscal year, the department is spending \$2.5 billion on culture compared with Ottawa's \$12.5-billion commit-

ment to defence and its \$10.2-billion allocation to employment and immigration. Between 1994 and 1999, the last year for which figures are available, federal spending on the arts increased by only four per cent, in comparison with a 27-per-cent increase in total government spending, and a 40-per-cent increase in defence. In the United States, by comparison, arts funding increased by nine per cent during the same period, compared with a 20-per-cent jump in both defence and total government spending.

Provincials have been hit most sharply at the Canada Council, the nation's major source of arts grants, which this year received \$106 million from the department of communications. The council awards roughly 294 million grants to about 1,200 artists and 2,000 arts organizations annually, but has not increased the council's baseline allocation since 1994. As a result, with inflation taken into account, its funding has actually fallen by about 30 per cent in six years—and by about 30 per cent since 1981. Over the course of the 1990s, arts organizations applying to the council have risen by 32 per cent. The Canadian Opera Company's Debiele said that the Canada Council had "straight-faced" his organization and other smaller groups long before the recession began. He added: "The recession is now being used as an excuse, a justification for doing what the government probably would have done anyway."

At the Canada Council itself, senior officials have become increasingly strident in voicing their claims of inadequate funding. In May, council chairman Alan Gershfield told the Commons reading committee on communications and culture that the fate of the arts in Canada is one of "death by decimation." Arguing that funding to the council has fallen since 1989—far less than time over—below allocations to similar bodies in countries including Britain and Sweden, Gershfield said: "Canadian arts organizations are being forced to bleed into the

for increasing material last year, an amount that they claim significantly exceeded what is spent on publishing activities and adult literacy programs combined.

The avalanche of postcards reveals a similar campaign that the coalition undertook in 1996 to protest the imposition of the tax. Said co-ordinator Brian Dixon, director of the Canadian Book Publishers' Council: "The government's continued move to cut arts funding is the absolute worst and no fair cuts combined." That campaign did not succeed, but Hawken says that a general election, due in 1995, may reverse the government's decision. Added Dixon: "We hope that the government is sensitive enough to public feeling about cultural matters that it will change its mind, but we really don't care what the motive is—as long as it's the tax off."

DEANE TURRILL

leaves. "At its quarterly meeting in late June, Gertzel's board of directors issued an unusual request for increased government funding, warning as its official statement that "his new living wage had been created through 30 years of sustained achievement in the arts in Canada."

Last week, department spokesman Gérard Desroches told *Maclean's* that Communications Minister Dennis Poiry "is aware that there is a problem with funding in the performing and the visual arts." Desroches added that Poiry will soon make an official statement on the subject. But even within the arts community itself, some observers say that continued restraint may have some beneficial effects. Said Andrew Turra, executive director of the Montreal-based Visual Arts Nova Scotia, as a umbrella group with 250 members: "Arts organizations had been getting a little spoiled as they knew that they would run up deficits and their governments would come in and straighten out the mess." He added: "They know this won't happen anymore, and so they are keeping things in better order."

Even among those demanding increased government aid, there is a growing recognition of the importance of convincing individuals to support the arts. According to a study commissioned by the Toronto-based Council for the Arts and the Arts, which represents about 100 non-profit organizations actively involved in financing culture, audiences dropped by seven per cent in the 1980-1990 season—reversing a decade of sustained growth. Said Betty Wolfson, executive director of the Toronto-based Association of Canadian Orchestras: "You have so many people that are two workers in the family, two breadwinners, and they simply don't have the time to go out in the evenings."

At the Manitoba Theatre Centre, meanwhile, despite the increase in individual ticket sales this season, general manager Johnnie Bayan said that many people that are two workers in the family, two breadwinners, and they simply don't have the time to go out in the evenings.

That tendency is taking a particularly heavy toll at many performing-arts organizations, including some of the country's most established symphony orchestras and dance companies. The 70-year-old Toronto Symphony,

reeling under a \$3.2-million debt, announced early July that it is cutting its season to 42 weeks from 50 next year, before adding one week in each of the following two years. As well, orchestra members are to receive the lowest pay out of 15 per cent. Meanwhile, the Toronto-based National Ballet of Canada's deficit has risen to \$1.7 million. Last year, the company declined to renew the contracts of five of 66 dancers and suspended future hires

until increasingly choose popular rather than innovative programs. According to Valerie Widler, associate director of the Montreal Ballet, her company's tough financial situation has "driven us to extreme measures" as the types of shows it is choosing to produce. "We feel we could really try and take off and show the world what we can do, but the financial situation makes that difficult," said Widler. "It would be nice to make strides artistically instead of being so miserable."

For her part, Denise East, director of Kismet Theatre in St. John's, which produces original plays by Newfoundland playwrights and operates on an annual budget of about \$300,000, noted a similar conservatism. Said East: "You find yourself in a position where you wonder whether or not you should do a show, because if you're wrong it may not sell."

But many arts organizations are becoming increasingly innovative as fudging a final stage for the 1990s for one thing, some are trying to merge the latest developments of the arts. According to the Calgary Philharmonic's McCarley, challenges that stage has been central to his organization's marketing in recent years. "We have been aggressive about getting the stage out about casual dress at concerts—just come and listen, just sit around," said McCarley. At the Vancouver Opera Association, meanwhile, a campaign to attract younger audiences helped bring in more than 5,000 new subscribers last season. Said marketing and communications director Tracy Delbecq: "Research showed us that we had to target a younger market in order to replenish our audience." The results have been impressive. Although in 1990, 38 per cent of the company's subscribers were people over the age of 50, by the end of the 1990-1992 season, only 38 per cent of new subscribers were in that age range.

In the theatre community, many companies are trying to identify sponsored cultural users. Said Jim Brock, executive director of the 340-member Toronto Theatre Alliance: "Theatres are starting to realize that you have to offer work that is relevant to the lives of real people, and that if you can do that, you will draw people."

Brock noted that theatres catering to ethnic communities, women and other so-called niche markets are vigorously marketing their wares. She added: "They are working to convince audiences that theatre is a part of their community." Said Timothy Jones, general manager of

Toronto's Budson in Red Tuxedo Theatre "In an era when things are generally uptight, conservative and cautious, we're putting out an image that purposely pushes in the opposite direction." Jones, whose beauty deals primarily with homosexual and lesbian themes and which since 1990 has expanded its season to year-round from 20 weeks, added: "We may scare a minority, but it is a loyal minority when it comes to consuming what we produce."

Brock said that many theatre companies that for years have survived by offering low-budget, long-proven productions have suffered least from the recession and spending reductions. "Such companies have an extreme sense of flexibility," she noted. "They may not even have an official office, let alone a permanent performing space, so they didn't have debts or obligations when the recession arrived."

Besides working to bring people into their theatres, movie halls and galleries, many arts organizations are also working harder to conserve the private sector to maintain the cause of culture. In 1991, Canadian corporations donated approximately \$70 million to the arts—about 32 per cent of total arts budgets. According to Blair Menzies, chairman of the Council for the Arts and the Arts, that figure represents a slight decline from corporate giving one year earlier—a dip that he attributes to recessionary pressures.

Still, Menzies emphasized that despite the recession trend, corporations are continuing to give as large a proportion of their charitable dollar to the arts as in the past. "With so many causes lining up, some corporations have definitely asked if they should renege their promises," said Menzies. "The conclusion that they have come to is that the arts are as important as ever."

Indeed, according to Nina Wright, president of Toronto-based Arts and Communications Consultants, many companies are more determined than ever to get the most out of their charitable giving, understanding what she calls "strategic philanthropy." A self-described "savvy giver" for arts organizations and private corporations, Wright cited the example of Toyota Canada Inc.'s recent sponsorship of the Canadian portion of a North American tour of the St. Petersburg-based Royal Ballet. The campaign used its sponsorship to draw the public's attention to its luxury Lexus automobile. Said Wright: "What you had there was a corporation whose ethos as one of festive style and service and a belief that it is the absolute epitome of perfection. When dollars for advertising and charity are both tighter than ever, that kind of gut gas goes into the name of the game."

For similar reasons, despite its \$1-million debt, the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra has scheduled a two-week tour in November of six North American cities—including stops at New York City's Carnegie Hall and Washington's Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. A consortium of petroleum and pipeline companies including Nova Corp. and TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. paid the \$1-million cost of the trip as part of its official celebrations marking

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Why can't Americans accept strong women?

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It is interesting that North American voters, supposedly representing the vibrant and youthful New World, have never come to grips with the idea of female political leaders. The fairly-dokkers across the ocean have, not making any fuss about electing those of the other sex to lead in India, in Israel and Sri Lanka, in Britain, in Pakistan, in Norway and Iceland.

This tale of the woe, where women have the highest standard of living in the world? Joe Clark was tossed out of office because, among other things, rural Canadian voters thought he wasn't strong enough to have his wife to take his own surname. And we all know what happened to Geraldine Ferraro—not to mention Walter Mondale—when the latter took so hold as to name the former as his vice-presidential candidate.

It is, therefore—considering the North American cynicism and nervousness about women—most outrageous to contemplate the first American election a history that may be decided on the voters' perception of femininity.

Bill Clinton's surprising (and perhaps because of a seemingly) choice of Al Gore as his Democratic running mate will be a test run for the American voting public. Never mind that the pick of Gore is a male himself (son of Tennessee's governor on Clinton's Arkansas, they are, we hear, the cousins of each other in age, they are boys of the South, were educated at the Ivy League, they are in essence baby boomer men—too much alike?

Real tests of the American voters will be can they abide in 1992 two wives who represent, very much 1990's—well-educated, well-organized, more than slightly obese and possibly stronger than their husbands?

Careful Democratic party strategists have already cautioned Clinton about caucusing down state. Hillary, who has paraded the nervous flaccid accompanying her husband's Marjorie Warren's Fair voters (that everybody George Bush had had an affair or two so why didn't they lay off her husband?)

So what does Clinton do? As a vice-presidential candidate he picks a guy whose wife is



collocated as yapping about putting winning tickets on a recording with secret lyrics. Do parents actually read missing labels? Of course. Do kids have varying labels? Of course. Never mind Tipper Gore is female, in the American context, about being a stout mother trying to protect her four kids.

Does this sound like a nice article to White Househead Sir William, the of the hyper-confident phone conversations with the school Gender Power? Of course. What is interesting is that Clinton is using women to construct the reasons about himself and women.

Hillary Clinton—who went the Marjorie Warren—was not alone also included it may hurt her husband's popularity—has asked that she also refrain from working as an elected member in the White House (as Rosalynn Carter did, and you know what happens to Janey). She says, further, that she sees nothing wrong with the possibility

of her being picked as a member of the cabinet.

Clinton may have shot her down severely, but, aware of the risk, has now picked a comparative paper couple where the wife is not related to an advisor, like Nancy Reagan, or silent, like Marjorie Eisenhower. Marjorie Pearson said that behind every successful man stands a surprised mother-in-law, a truth we all know, but Clinton is daring the voters to recognize that he is prepared to get into the White House two strong-minded, intelligent women who may challenge their husbands on issues of import.

It is, in fact, a throwback all the way to the Roosevelt years, when Eleanor was a world figure—before the word feminist had been coined—as husband Franklin got on with coping with Watson's drafting. Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore, so Don Quixote's daughter, are very much of the Marjorie Brown mould—same age, same education, same independent character.

So, in a matter of fact, Quixote's wife, Marilyn, who has just published a political novel and is brighter than he is, but his weaker's recognition—since he is not that bright—the ambivalence between his wife and the Marjorie Brown does he now will be affecting this fall.

One must give Clinton credit for his during the most dreary aspect of American presidential-making, for a foreigner, is the age-old-onion struggle to "balance" the presidential nominee with his very other end of the country, North-South, Protestant-Jew, working class-elite, those who abided while spending great labor with those who didn't.

Clinton, admittedly, chose in Gore a senator who has legitimate foreign-policy credentials that he has been—be supported the Gulf War, served in Vietnam, which Clinton did not. Gore has just published a best-selling book on the environment, an area where Clinton is evidently weak.

But a major risk is a risk he must know. He is not only chosen a southerner to match up with a southerner—thinking all the regional membership—has picked a chap his own age rather than some long-toothed pillar soldier so running mate.

What he is challenging American voters to do is to pick two young men in their mid-40s married to two young women who represent what the world is doing today—where they and they represent their own race to acknowledge that their opinions are just as good as those that their experience and their education and their knowledge tells them that it is so.

It will be interesting to see what Americans do with it.

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